

Central Asian Monuments



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Central Asian Monuments

Hasan B. Paksoy



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction by Hasan B. Paksoy	7
Hasan B. Paksoy, <i>Sun is also Fire</i>	13
Peter Golden, <i>Codex Comanicus</i>	45
Richard Frye, <i>Narshaki's The History of Bukhara</i>	75
Robert Dankoff, <i>Qarakhanid Literature and the Beginnings of Turco-Islamic Culture</i>	83
Uli Schamiloglu, <i>Umdet ul Ahbar and the Turkic Narrative sources for the Golden Horde and the Later Golden Horde</i>	93
Kevin Krisciunas, <i>Ulug Bey's Zij</i>	107
Audrey L. Altstadt, <i>Abbas Kulu Agha Bakikhanli's Nasihatlar</i>	117
Edward Lazzerini, <i>Gaspirali Ismail Bey's Tercüman</i>	159
David S. Thomas, <i>Yusuf Akçura's Üç Tarz-i Siyaset</i>	173
List of Contributors	192

INTRODUCTION

The historical and literary Monuments of Central Asia are the repositories of civilization, culture and aesthetic tastes of their creators and their milieu over millennia. Though some existed in manuscript, a large portion survived dozens of centuries as part of the oral tradition. After printing press licenses were wrested by the Central Asians from the Russian government during the 19th century, many were collected by the Central Asians and others, and published. The Monuments have proved to be durable. Primarily works of Central Asian thought, they belong also to civilization at large, representing the endeavors of human activity.

The present volume presents essays on nine Central Asian Monuments. Each essay discusses one Monument, placing it in historical perspective. Some works are early products of Central Asian thought. A few, are quite new, that is, were produced in the 19th and 20th centuries. They all, however, are repositories of thought and culture and all have had palpable repercussions. Their enduring quality is manifested in repeated references to them by present day Central Asians in their own historical, literary, and even political writings. Indeed, this latter use of Monuments provided an additional reason for undertaking the collection at hand. In a time when Central Asia's importance to world affairs is again resurgent, it is necessary to understand the intellectual nucleus of Central Asians' mode of thinking. This is especially important, because an overwhelming majority of Central Asian writings do not appear in any other language than their own dialects. The appreciation of these Monuments, their messages and their influence over time contributes to the understanding of current issues precisely because they are directly linked in the minds of the Central Asians themselves. This is illustrated by the first essay, "Sun is also Fire," which examines the references to various Monuments in one contemporary "novella" from Uzbekistan.

The nine works examined below necessarily represent only a sampling of monuments extant in Central Asia. For example, not included is the genre of the "forefathers' admonitions," any significant discussion of which would require volumes. Among the components of the latter genre are *dastans*,

"ornate oral histories." There are a minimum of fifty "main" *dastans*, each at least several hundred pages long, exclusive of dozens of variants for each. A number of studies on this genre have been published over the years, in the original dialects as well as in translation, including English. Talat Tekin's *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*¹ contains samples from one of the earliest known advice and counsel works, incorporating narrations by the past rulers themselves². Among them, the following translations and analyses should be mentioned: *The Book of Dede Korkut*³, by Geoffrey L. Lewis; *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan*⁴, by Arthur T. Hatto; *Maadi Kara*⁵, by Ugo Marazzi; *Alpamysh*⁶ by H. B. Paksoy; and *Chora Batir*⁷. Fragments of others may be found in Radloff⁸. The foregoing represents only a small fraction; other accounts and admonitions such as *Oghuz Han* edited by Z. V. Togan⁹;

¹Bloomington, 1968, Uralic and Altaic Series, Volume 69.

²It must be noted that these were carved on stone. However, not all have survived the ravages of weather, nor the mischief of humans. During 1988, the Kazak poet Oljay Suleyman(ov) led a movement to have the Orkhon tablets brought under the protection of UNESCO, to prevent their destruction at the hands of vandals.

³Penguin, 1974. Second edition. There is an earlier translation of *Dede Korkut*, by Faruk Sümer, Ahmed Edip Uysal and Warren S. Walker. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973. Second printing, 1991.

⁴Oxford, 1977. London Oriental Series, Volume 33.

⁵*Maday Qara: An Altay Epic Poem*. Translation from the Altay, Introduction and Notes by Ugo Marazzi. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, 1986. See also *Maaday Kara. Altai Kay Çörçök*. Moscow, 1973. Includes Russian translation.

⁶Hartford, CT: Association for the Advancement of Central Asian Research Monograph Series, 1989.

⁷See H. B. Paksoy, "Chora Batir: A Tatar Admonition to Future Generations" *Studies in Comparative Communism*, Vol. XIX, Nos. 3&4 Autumn/Winter 1986, which contains a bibliography of printed versions of this *dastan* and a synopsis.

⁸For reasons not entirely clear, W. Radloff rarely (if ever) included the full version of any of the monuments he collected from indigenous reciters. The printed fragments fill eighteen volumes, with a very long title almost covering the entire frontispiece, and is not widely available. Some were translated, mainly into Russian, and to German. It was published between 1866-1907 in St. Petersburg, and reissued at least twice. Generally referenced as *Proben*, details on this compilation, and re-prints, may be found in *South Siberian Oral Literature* (with an introduction by Denis Sinor). Bloomington, IN: Uralic Altaic Series, 1967. No. 79/1.

⁹*Oğuz Destanı: Resîdeddin Oğuznâmesi, Tercüme ve Tahlili*, İstanbul, 1972, published posthumously. Oğuz Destanı did not come down to us in its entirety, but in fragments, and not in the original Turkish, but in translated excerpts found in historical works of the medieval period.

*Köroğlu*¹, *Koblandi Batir*²; *Kambar Batir*³; *Manas*⁴ are not yet available in English.

Another group is what may be termed "handbooks" or compendiums and include *Diwan Lugat-it Türk*⁵, *Kutadgu Bilig*⁶, *Muhakemat al-lughateyn*⁷. These three and others have been translated⁸. On the other hand, most of the poetry written in Central Asia are still not accessible. The volume of Central Asian poetry is so great that the effort required may occupy several scholars a lifetime to successfully translate even one major poet. For instance, Navai's poetry⁹ alone would be a significant project, and in the past UNESCO attempted to undertake the task, but for want of trained scholars prepared to undertake the job, it has not progressed¹⁰.

¹I understand *Köroğlu* is being re-translated (an earlier attempt was made at the turn of the century, by Chodzko) at the University of Chicago, as part of a dissertation, under the direction of Robert Dankoff. Several versions were collected by others, in the original, such as *Goroğlu*, D. Haldurdi (Ed.) Ashkabad, 1980; *Gör-Oğlu*, B. A. Karriev (Ed.) Moscow, 1983; *Köroğlu*, M. H. Tahmasib, (Ed.) Baku, 1975; *Köroğlu Antep Rivayeti*, Hüseyin Bayaz (Ed.) İstanbul, 1981; *Köroğlu Destanı*, Pertev Naili (Ed.), İstanbul, 1931; *Köroğlu ve Dadaloğlu*, Cahit Öztelli (Ed.) Ankara, 1962. There are also analysis volumes on this work: B. A. Karriev, *Epicheskie skazania o Ker-Ogli*, Moscow, 1968; P. Kichigulov, *Köroğlu Hakkında Sohbet*, Ashkabad, 1978; B. Mammedyazov, "Köroğlu" *Eposu ve Onun Hazırkı Zaman Yagdayi*, Ashkabad, 1979; B. Mammedyazov, "Köroğlu" *Eposunun Poetikası Hakkında*, Ashkabad, 1984. This is by no means a complete listing.

²*Koblandi Batir: Kazak Halkinin Batirlik Jiri*, Moscow, 1975. Includes Russian translation.

³*Kambar Batir*, Alma-Ata, 1981. This work has been issued several times, at various locations within the USSR.

⁴*Manas* is the longest known work in its genre, containing 500,000 lines in verse. It has been issued several times in the USSR, but in highly condensed format, varying between one to four volumes each, far short of the original.

⁵Kasgarli Mahmud, *Kitab Diwan Lugat at Türk* (Completed ca. A. D. 1074?/ 1077). Editio Princeps by Kilişli Rifat (3 vols.) İstanbul, 1917-19. English Translation by R. Dankoff and J. Kelly as *Compendium of Turkic Dialects* (3 vols.) Cambridge, MA., 1982-84.

⁶Completed A. D. 1069. A Turkish edition is Yusuf Has Hacıb, *Kutadgu Bilig*, R. R. Arat (Ed.), Ankara, 1974 (2nd Ed.). KB is translated into English as *Wisdom of Royal Glory* by R. Dankoff, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983.

⁷See *Muhakemat al-lughateyn*, Robert Devereux (Tr.) Leiden, 1966.

⁸See M. Ali, "Let Us Learn Our Heritage" in *AACAR BULLETIN*, Vol. II, No. 3, Fall 1989, for a general discussion of the topic and works that influenced later Central Asian thinkers, as recounted by a current Central Asian author.

⁹Reportedly of Uyghur descent, Navai (1441-1501) was one of the premier literati and statesmen of his era, served as the "Prime Minister" to Hüseyin Baykara, a direct descendant of Timur. A compilation of his works, in the original Chaghatay, but transliterated into the Latin alphabet, is available. See Ağah Sirri Levend, *Ali Şir Nevai: Hayatı, Sanatı ve Kişiliği*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Vol. 1: 1965, Vol. 2: 1966, Vol. 3: 1967, Vol. 4: 1968.

¹⁰For an indication of extant studies on Central Asian poetry, see H. F. Hoffman, *Turkish Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, Utrecht, 1969. This work excludes those writings devoted to Navai. Reportedly, A. Bodrogi is preparing an English version of another major Central Asian work, the 11th c. *Hikmet* by Ahmet Yesevi.

There are also histories written by Central Asians. Togan¹ and Bartold² provide good critical summaries of those indigenous works, very few of which have been translated. Y. Bregel is in the process of doing one³. Bosworth⁴, Sümer⁵, Kafesoglu⁶ have also made use of manuscript sources of the type, and provide bibliographies. Western sources include discussions on such works, at varying lengths, including the *Cambridge History of India*⁷, two volumes of which necessarily include heavy doses of Central Asian affairs, as well as the *Oxford History of India*⁸ and the *Cambridge History of Iran*⁹ which provide insights from the Western and Southern edges. Denis Sinor, in his still unsurpassed *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie Centrale*¹⁰ provides an extensive bibliography of hundreds of works devoted to the topic. Individual volumes on various aspects of Central Asian history were also added to this list since Sinor's comprehensive work¹¹. Some of the earlier important works

¹Largely listed in his *Türkili Türkistan*, Istanbul, 1981. 2nd Ed.

²W. Bartold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, London, 1977. 4th Ed. It was completed in 1900, translated in 1928, remains as a major book on the topic in English.

³For the original Chaghatay language version, see Munis and Agahi, *Firdaws Al-ikbal: History of Khorezm*, Y. Bregel (Ed.), E. J. Brill, 1988. Prof. Bregel reports he is currently working on the English translation.

⁴C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040*, Beirut, 1973. 2nd ed.; Idem, *The Later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh, 1977.

⁵F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler). Tarihleri, Boy Teşkilatları, Destanları*, Istanbul, 1980. 3rd. Edition.

⁶İbrahim Kafesoglu, *Türk Milli Kültürü*, Istanbul, 1984. 3rd. Ed.

⁷*The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, *Turks and Afghans*; Vol. IV. Each Volume reprinted several times at various locations.

⁸V. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1919.

⁹*The Cambridge History of Iran*. This multi-volume work is still being issued. See also *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge, 1970 and later.

¹⁰See D. Sinor, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie Centrale*, Wiesbaden, 1963; Idem, *Inner Asia: A Syllabus*, Uralic Altaic Series, Vol. 9. 2nd Ed. Bloomington, IN, 1971.

¹¹For example, Christopher Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, Princeton, 1987; L. Tillet, *The Great Friendship*, Chapel Hill, 1969; Elizabeth Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yüan Dynasty*, Cambridge, MA, 1989. (See review in AACAR BULLETIN Vol. II, No. 3, Fall 1989); Edward Ingram, *The Beginnings of the Great Game in Asia 1828-1834* Oxford, 1979; idem, *Commitment to Empire: Prophecies of the Great Game in Asia 1797-1800* Oxford, 1981; idem, *In Defense of British India: Great Britain in the Middle East 1775-1842* London, 1984; Hélène Carrère D'Encausse, *Islam and the Russian Empire: Reform and Revolution in Central Asia*, Berkeley, CA, 1988. (See review in AACAR BULLETIN Vol. III, No. 1, Spring 1990); Thomas Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia and the Islamic Lands 1251-1259* Berkeley, 1987 [Review in AACAR BULLETIN vol. II, Nos. 2&3, February 1989]; Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan, His Life and Times*, Berkeley, 1988 [Review in AACAR BULLETIN Vol. II, Nos. 2&3, February 1989]; idem, *China and Inner Asia*, London, 1975; Peter Golden, *Khazar Studies*, Budapest, 1980. N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century*, Ithaca, 1982; Azade-Ayşe Rorlich, *The Volga Tatars*, Stanford, 1986; Alan W. Fisher, *Crimean Tatars*, Stanford, 1978; M. Olcott, *Kazakhs* Stanford, 1988; M. T. Choldin, *A Fence Around the Empire: Censorship of Western Ideas under the Tsars*, Durham, 1985.

were also listed in Sinor's *Inner Asia: A Syllabus*¹.

A quantity of volumes on the history of the Central Asians, focusing on dynasties, geographic locations or eras may be found in principal libraries. The most comprehensive is by W. Barthold *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*. As the title indicates, it covers the period up to the 13th century A.D. Z. V. Togan's *Türkili Turkistan* concentrates largely on the 19th and the 20th centuries. The sample period volumes on the history of the Central Asians include the 10th c. A.D. *De administrando imperio* by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Byzantine emperor)²; 10th c. *Hudud al-Alam*³; 12th c. Marwazi *China, the Turks and India*⁴; 14th c. Ibn Battuta's *Travels*⁵; 8th c. Chiu T'ang-shu⁶, the 16th c. *Baburnama*⁷; also of the 16th c. *Secere-i Türk*⁸. There are also collections of documents, e.g., *Türkische Turfan Texte* tr. by Bang and Gabain (1920s)⁹; *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*¹⁰; *The Tarikh-i Rashidi*¹¹. Certainly, there is no shortage of commentaries, observations on the more recent social, historical or political

¹For example: *Central Asia*, Gavin Hambly, Ed. NY, 1969; *Geschichte Mittelasiens*, part of *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Bertold Spuler, (Ed.) Leiden, 1966; Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, NY, 1940; *The History of the World Conqueror* by 'Ala-ad-din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, J. A. Boyle (Tr.), Manchester, 1958; E. Bretschneider, *Medieval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, London, 1910; W. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, (Three volumes) V. & T. Minorsky, Tr. Leiden, 1956-1962; Alexander Park, *Bolshevism in Turkestan*, New York, 1957; C. Hoestler, *Türkism and the Soviets*, London, 1957; O. Caroe, *Soviet Empire: The Turks of Central Asia and Stalinism*, NY, 1967; G. Wheeler, *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia*, NY, 1964; E. Allworth, ed., *Central Asia: 120 Years of Russian Rule*, Durham, 1989. Reprint. [See review in AACAR BULLETIN Vol. III, No. 1, Spring 1990.]

²G. Moravcsik (Ed.), Budapest, 1949.

³Anon. *Hudud al-Alam*, V. Minorsky, Tr. London, 1937.

⁴Marvazi, on *China, the Turks and India*, V. Minorsky, Tr. London, 1942.

⁵Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, London, 1929. This work has been translated and published several times since.

⁶See Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire*, Columbia: South Carolina, 1972.

⁷*The Babur-Nama in English*, (Memoirs of Babur), Anette S. Beveridge, Tr. London, 1922. It has been reprinted in 1969.

⁸See H. F. Hoffman, *Türkisch Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*. It exists in French translation by Desmaisons and in Russian translation, inter alia, by Kononov. A similar work, *Shajarat ul Atrak*, London, 1838, was translated by Col. Miles.

⁹There were a number of volumes edited under that general designation by the aforementioned scholars, later joined by R. R. Arat.

¹⁰Translated documents by E. Chavannes, St. Petersburg, 1903.

¹¹By Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat. N. Elias & E. Denison Ross (Eds.), London 1898.

conditions of Central Asia¹. However, the present volume is not intended as a bibliography, since quite a few of the cited works are, or contain extensive listings of sources, but to introduce a number of original work of Central Asian origin².

In short, there are more categories of Central Asian monuments than there are students currently studying them around the world. The present volume, matching active scholars with Monuments, will perhaps stimulate further work on these works and their legacy.

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¹For example: B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Weisbaden, 1952; John Krueger, *The Uralic and Altaic Series: An Analytical Index*, Bloomington: IN, 1970; Beatrice Manz, *Timur*, Cambridge, 1989; R. N. Frye, among his other work, *The History of Bukhara*, Cambridge, MA, 1954; Seymour Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924*, Harvard, 1968; Gunnar Jarring, among his other works, *Literary Texts from Kashgar*, (Original Texts in facsimile), Lund, 1980; idem, *Uzbek Texts from Afghan Turkestan*, Lund, 1938; G. Racquette, *Tahir bila Zohra*, Lund, 1930. For a partial listing of O. Pritsak's publications, reference should be made to the bibliographies presented in "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden" *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 101, Wiesbaden, 1951; and "Karachanidische Streitfragen 1-4" *Oriens II*, Leiden, 1950; "Das Neuuigurische" *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, T. I, Wiesbaden, 1959. Also see A. Schimmell, "Steppe und Stadtim Leben der ältesten Türken," *Der Islam* Vol. 29, Berlin, 1949; idem, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, 1975; M. Rywkin, *Moscow's Muslim Challenge: Soviet Central Asia*, London, 1982; A. Bennigsen and S.E. Wimbush, *Moslem National Communism*, Chicago, 1979.

²The above cited bibliographies, of all types, contain references to studies and work in more than a dozen languages.

SUN IS ALSO FIRE

Hasan B. Paksoy

The particular conditions of writing history in the Soviet Union have been partially documented, although far less often in the case of the Asian territories. Lowell Tillet¹, Wayne S. Vucinich² and C. E. Black³ have shown that especially since World War II, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), Soviet Academies of Sciences and their branches have mandated that the history of the non-Russians and their relations to the Russian state and to the ethnic Russians themselves is and has always been positive, "progressive" and beneficial to the non-Russians. With respect to Central Asia, Soviet officialdom has been and is eager to legitimize both its conquest and present position in the region as Central Asians constitute approximately one-fifth to one fourth of the Soviet population and occupy a substantial portion of the Asian land-mass.

The Central Asian authors have responded to the restrictions on history writing by reporting accurate history and relaying messages of the past in the guise of literature. The field of literature has its own strictures. Thus, Central Asians have tried to ensure that their output is both the real history and sufficiently veiled (for example, under the "yarn" genre) to pass censorship. This is an effort to maintain the historical identity which Central Asians see, is under attack by the Russian-dominated party, state and academic apparatus in the official "histories." One must observe the recent publishing activity of the Central Asians, in their dialects, especially since the late 1970s. These efforts represent a renewal of activity since the interruption caused by the "liquidations" of the 1930s.

¹For a good treatment of this topic, with detailed examples, see L. Tillet, *The Great Friendship*, (Chapel Hill, 1969).

²*Russia in Asia*, Wayne S. Vucinich, (Ed.) (Stanford, 1972). Vucinich also contributed to this volume. See his "The Structure of Soviet Orientalology: Fifty Years of Change and Accomplishment."

³*Rewriting Russian History: Soviet Interpretations of Russia's Past*, C. E. Black (Ed.) (New York, 1956). Black is also a contributor.

The efforts of the past decade constitute a renewal— rather than initiation — of activity: History, politics and literature have always been inseparable in Central Asia. This has been true regardless of the era or form of government. The tradition is continuing as ever, with "fiction" and "novel" genres now being used not only to bear a contemporary message, but to relay the lessons of real historical events and written monuments of Central Asian history to the indigenous populace. To recognize the messages — both contemporary and historical — of these new works of "fiction," serving as platforms for true history texts for the Central Asians, it is imperative that the Western reader be equipped with the historical knowledge being referenced by the Central Asian writers and recognized by their readers.

SUN IS ALSO FIRE (*Kuyas ham Alov*) is one such work of supposed fiction that contains accurate historical information, quotations from key historical monuments of Central Asia, and which bears several messages relevant to the contemporary population. SUN IS ALSO FIRE is a short story by Alisher Ibadin, printed in the periodical *Güllistan* (published in the Uzbek SSR), in its issue No. 9, 1980. Examination of current Soviet textbooks suggests that the works implicitly referenced (identified below) in this "short story" are not generally available or taught in Soviet schools. In this effort, Ibadin is presenting himself as a conduit, a bridge to the real past. In verbalizing the thoughts of the collective ancestry, he is taking a great personal risk — perhaps, like the central figure of the "tale," pouring (symbolic) naphtha on himself. The main theme of SUN IS ALSO FIRE reflects the messages of both the sources and the historical events to which Ibadin alludes — a struggle for independence against an invading alien, preservation of the culture of one's ancestors and the self sacrifice required for the task. Along the way, purification, by fire, is woven into the main flow, an important historical motif.

One of the most powerful messages of SUN IS ALSO FIRE is represented by the epigram with which Ibadin begins:

"If the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, O Turkish people, who would be able to destroy your state and institutions?"

These words come from the Orkhon-Yenisei tablets inscribed in the first third of the 8th century¹. The tablets are the earliest known surviving written monuments of the Turks in their own language. They recount the fall of a great Central Asian Turk empire in the 7th century and the leaders who rebuilt it. It is not only the account of national reconstruction after subjugation (in this case, by the Chinese) and thus a message of confidence, but it contains the sobering lesson that the loss of the earlier empire was the fault of the Turks themselves because they forsook the ancestral values. It is from that passage that Ibadin took this admonition.

The use of Orkhon inscriptions bears also an indirect message — these tablets were inscribed more than 250 years before the conversion of the Rus and, therefore, some 300 years before an alphabet was invented for the Russians. In fact, the stelae predate — by a wide margin — the first mention of the Rus in any written chronicle (i.e., *Annales Bertiniani* of the 9th c.). Consequently, the tablets are a not so subtle reminder that the culture of the Turks is of greater antiquity than that of their present-day overlords. Since the tablets describe an empire even earlier than the time of the inscriptions, the reminder is redoubled — the Turks' empire preceded the Kievan state as well as Russian literacy. This may be deemed a backlash against the contents of the current Soviet textbooks.

Additional historical references emerge in the first few lines of the narrative itself. The central figure of SUN IS ALSO FIRE is named Alp Tekin. An "alp" is a battle-tested young man, or woman, with a noble and distinguished character and "tekin," or "Tigin" denotes a Turk prince. There are, however, several known historical Alp Tekins, each with a specific message to the audience. Bartold² mentions four: of Bukhara, the Hajib (Chamberlain) of Khwarazm Shah, A. D. 1071; of Ghazna, in Samanid kingdom, d. A. D. 963, who founded a new state on the territories of Ghazna, having risen from the position of a military bondsman³; the ambassador to

¹See H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları* (Istanbul, 1936) for the full text in the original "Orkhun" alphabet (pp. 23-55). Texts in the Latin alphabet and English translations are found in T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Indiana, 1968). (Henceforth Tekin, followed by the abbreviation of the cited stela). This quotation is from the KT (Kültigin) stela. The personal names of the editors of both works ought not be confused with those of the monuments themselves. Moreover, I should note that throughout I have followed the spellings as they appear in the originally quoted sources.

²W. Bartold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1977) (4th Ed.). In succession, see pp. (277-9); (228, 233, 239, 249-51, 21); (299); (100, 327, 354).

³See C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994-1040* (Beirut, 1973) (2nd Ed.) (pp. 37-38); and F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler)* (Istanbul, 1980) (3rd Ed.) (p. 57 et passim) for a detailed treatment of the well known Alp Tekin (d. A. D. 963) who founded the Ghaznavids.

Sultan Masud in A. D. 1036; and of Kara-Khitay in A. D. 1141, who restored the castle in the city of Bukhara. Certainly, the Alp Tekin who founded the Ghaznavids is the most likely one Ibadin wishes readers to focus on — the Alp Tekin who established an independent state for his followers.

Ibadin continues his historical text: When Alp Tekin is awakened, he jumps up, prepared for battle and asks whether the enemy, the Arabs, are attacking. The allusion, of course, is to the Arab conquests of Central Asia in the 8th century. There are several references (by name) to a "Talas battle." There were several battles at that location, and the most well known took place in A. D. 751 between the Arabs and the Chinese¹. Although the overt theme here is protection of the homeland from invasion, the emphasis throughout is not so much on the fear of physical occupation, but rather its result — the threat to the native culture, particularly the religion and language of the ancestors. Because it is Islam (and Arabic) that these invaders represent, many a Western reader, imbued with the present thought that attributes everything in Central Asia to Islam, may see here a simple anti-Islamic message reflecting official CPSU policy. Perhaps Ibadin relied on such a presumption also entering the minds of Soviet authorities. But in view of tsarist and Soviet russification policies and their emphasis on the use of the Russian language, one must also see a broader intent. It is the imposition of an alien language, whatever it may be, that is the threat to culture.

Furthermore, and although the depiction of Arabs as enemies and Islam as an alien faith may coincide with Russian policies, the examination of Islam and the degree to which it ought to be part of the Central Asian identity has deep historical roots. The Central Asian educated stratum debated this question (yet again) at the turn of the 20th century, inter alia, on the pages of the St. Petersburg newspaper *Mir Islama*. Throughout SUN IS ALSO FIRE, the emphasis is not so much "anti-Islamic" as it is "pro" the ancestral religion and traditions.

As soon as Ibadin delineates his main reference points, he has Alp Tekin invoke the aid of more well known and historical Turks, those who gained fame even before the arrival of invading Arab armies, to solve the

¹Talas is the name of the river, as well as a city. See DLT (P. 184); Bartold, Chapter Two. Further, see O. Pritsak, "Karachanidische Streitfragen 1-4" *Oriens II*. (Leiden, 1950). At various times, several battles took place at Talas. Bartold (P. 195-196) states "... according to the narrative of the Arabic historian, probably exaggerated, as many as 50,000 Chinese were killed and about 20,000 taken prisoner, but in the Chinese records the whole army of Kao-hsien-chih is given as 30,000 men... but it is undoubtedly of great importance.... In 752 the ruler of Ustrushana begged help against the Arabs from the Chinese, but met with a refusal."

problems Alp Tekin is facing. The resulting effect is that a Turk is looking up to another, a more ancient Turk, to emulate as a role model. Among these role models, six are rather significant and recalled by name. Alp Er Tunga is the first. He is revered even by his medieval "biographers" and his name repeatedly appears in the Kültigin stela of the Orkhon group¹.

On the same man, Balasagunlu Yusuf, in *Kutadgu Bilig* comments:

If you observe well you will notice that the Turkish princes are the finest in the world. And among these Turkish princes the one of outstanding fame and glory was Tonga Alp Er. He was the choicest of men, distinguished by great wisdom and virtues manifold. What a choice and manly man he was, a clever man indeed — he devoured this world entire! The Iranians call him Afrasiyab, the same who seized and pillaged their realm.²

Kaşgarli Mahmut, in *Diwan Lugat at-Türk* also cites an elegy for Alp Er Tonga:

Has Alp Er Tonga died? Does the wicked world remain empty of him? / Has time exacted its revenge upon him? / Now the heart bursts...³

Kashgarli further identifies him:

Tunga (tiger)... King Afrasiyab, Chief of the Türks, meaning a man, a warrior, (as strong as) a tiger.⁴

For Tonyukuk, another revered historical Turk alluded to in the narration, Ibadin provides a footnote:

FN 24. During the I. and II. Türk Kaganates, a very high ranking political personage.

¹For *Alp Er Tunga*, see Tekin, KT, N7; BK, E31.

²*Kutadgu Bilig* (Henceforth KB. Completed A. D. 1069 in the very domains used as the stage of the "story" at hand by Ibadin). A Turkish edition is Yusuf Has Hacıb, *Kutadgu Bilig*. R. R. Arat (Ed.) Ankara, 1974 (2nd Ed.). KB is translated into English as *Wisdom of Royal Glory* by R. Dankoff (Chicago, 1983). Citations are from the latter, here couplets 276-282, (p. 48).

³Kaşgarli Mahmud, *Kitab Diwan Lugat at Türk* [Henceforth DLT. Completed ca. A. D. 1074-1077. Editio Princeps by Kilişli Rifat (3 Vols.) (Istanbul, 1917-19). English Translation by R. Dankoff and J. Kelly as *Compendium of Turkic Dialects* (3 vols.) (Cambridge, MA., 1982-84)]. The citations are from the *Compendium*, here p. 33. For additional sources, see Emel Esin, "Tonga and Ödlek: On Kaşgarli's Version of the Afrasiab/Tonga Alp Er Epic" *Raiyyet Rüşumu, Essays Presented to Halil İnalcik. Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol 10, 1986. See G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), (P. 515) for further observations.

⁴DLT (P. 605).

From available sources, it is known that Tonyukuk was the chief advisor to rulers Ilteris and Bilga Kagans, the latter of whom was apparently responsible for the Orkhon stelae, erected in Tonyukuk's honor ca. 720 A.D. Tonyukuk himself was alive in 716, at Bilga Kagan's accession and is believed to have died a few years later.¹

A third historical personage to whom Ibadin alludes in Sebük Tegin (d. A. D. 997), the protégé of Alp Tekin of Ghazna. After Alp Tekin's death in A. D. 963, as with at least two other commanders preceeding him, Sebük Tegin was elected the commander of the army by its troops in A. D. 977. In 15 years time, he was the ruler of all Ghaznavid territories.²

The case of the historical Bugra is not difficult either. Han Suleyman b. Yusuf (Bugra Tekin), lived c. A. D. 1040, at the time of the Dandenekan battle. The events of this period broadly involve struggles to control Transoxiana, with the Ghaznavids in the middle, Seljuks to the West and the Karakhanids to the East. There are also a number of other Bugra Han [Khan] of the same period. Moreover, Balasagunlu Yusuf dedicated the *Kutadgu Bilig* to Karakhanid Bugra Khan.³ What is inconsistent with his demonstrated knowledge of history, is the fact that Ibadin cast the Bugra of SUN IS ALSO FIRE in a rather dim light. One wonders if he did not have access to credible historical sources on the Seljuks, Karakhanids or Ghaznavids. Or, perhaps, he had some other, special purpose in mind, such as warning the members of his readership about complacency and unacceptable behavior in the manner of his Bugra Bek. Possibly, Ibadin points to Tabgach Bugra Khan, to which *Kutadgu Bilig* was dedicated, to suggest he did not follow the admonitions in that manual of statecraft, and thus caused the decline of the Karakhanids. Or, he is shaking a finger at the coopted Central Asian leadership.

Ibadin introduces a fifth historical name, Tarhan. Though "tarhan" is a title denoting a member of the ruling elite, it has also been used as a personal name. Bartold chronicles a "Tarkhun" being active c. A. D. 701-4, "the leaders

¹ See Tekin (Pp. 9-11, 283-290) for the English translation of the text contained in the *Tonyukuk* monument. Also, F. Hirth, "Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonyuquq," *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, W. Radloff (St. Petersburg, 1899). Further, D. Sinor, "Qapqan," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1954).

² *Sebük Tegin* appears to be a nom de guerre. For the historical *Bugra*, see DLT (P. 206); Togan (Pp. 97-99), also Bartold (Chapter Two, esp. Pp. 290-310). There are also a number of other *Bugra Han* [Khan] of the same period. See Bosworth (P. 272, N. 26). See KB (Couplets 3-123). For Karakhanids, see O. Pritsak, op. cit. For the Seljuks, in addition to Bartold, Sümer, Bosworth, see *A History of the Seljuks*, G. Leiser (Tr. and Ed.), (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1988), and the sources cited therein.

³ For citations on Sebük Tekin and Bugra Khans, see Bosworth and the notes to the translation below.

of the native princes, Tarkhun, the Ikhshid of Sogd." Togan¹ details the use of the word, based on the writings of seven medieval historians, indicating "Tarhan" was a title given to some Türk rulers. Togan's description includes a Tarhan of Kashgar c. A. D. 775-785, Arslan Tarhan of Kashan near Fergana A. D. 739, and several others up to A. D. 893. This cross-referencing of Tarhan and Arslan somewhat complicates the picture. Bartold lists no fewer than twelve rulers carrying "Arslan" as part of their names. The majority of those Arslan lived in the 11-13th centuries A. D. (It must be remembered that many individuals in Central Asian history had their given names before assuming titles associated with acquired or inherited positions of authority). There is, however, one "Arslan Khan Ali, who, according to Jamal Karshi (a period historian), died a martyr's death in January 998: the nature of his death may be guessed from the epithet Hariq ('the burned') applied to him."²

Ibadin has Alp Tekin make a reference to a sixth historical personage, Bumin Han, a Turk prince, referenced in Kül Tigin. He is one of the ancestors of Kül Tigin, "... who organized and ruled the state and institutions of the Turkish people."³

There are also specific references to the land on which the depicted events are taking place. That aspect, too, is critical to the understanding of history, the bond between the people and the homeland and how it relates to the readership. The footnotes to the translated work provide the details of how those geographic locations are significant and to which historical sources they may be traced.

Next, Ibadin brings in concrete references to personal sacrifice for the homeland, manifesting itself as consumption by fire. Reverence for fire is most commonly associated with Zoroastrianism, but exists also in many belief systems. Most salient for the present case, Central Asian Shamanism is known to encompass reverence for fire. In his study of Shamanism, the late Mircea Eliade writes:

The idea that fire ensures a celestial destiny after death is also confirmed by the belief that those who are struck by lightning fly up to the sky. 'Fire,' of whatever kind, transforms man into 'spirit.' this is why shamans are held to be 'masters over fire' and become insensitive

¹Z. V. Togan *Türkili Türkistan* (Istanbul, 1981) (2nd Ed.), (Pp. 3, 98, 105).

²Bartold, *Turkestan*, (P. 268); for the rest of the *Arslan Khans*, (Pp. 269, 275, 280-2, 285, 319-21, 328, 333, 335, 33, 366, 403-4, 442, 449).

³See Tekin (Pp. 263).

to the touch of hot coals. 'Mastery over fire' or being burned are in a manner equivalent of an initiation. A similar idea underlies the conception that heroes and who all die a violent death mount to the sky; their death is considered an initiation. On the contrary, death from disease can only lead the deceased to the underworld; for disease is provoked by the evil spirits of the dead.¹

Such beliefs and practice were still alive in Central Asia during the early part of the 20th century. The late Z. V. Togan relates a particular event, when he was involved in the Basmaci Movement of the 1920s. At one point Togan was taken ill seriously. His companions carried him to a shaman. Togan narrates:²

In a Özbek [sic] tent, a large fire was lit. The *bakhsi* (shaman),³ had a jet-black beard, appearing to be forty years of age, with a robust body, but was otherwise a seemingly normal person... An iron shovel was placed in the fire. He lifted this spade, inserting a wooden handle. The wood handle caught fire. He [shaman] filled his mouth with water and sprayed the spade. The bouncing droplets of water [from this process] were striking my face, burning me... Finally, the shaman grasped this spade with his teeth. He encircled me several times with it, and threw it back into the fire... Despite the fact that he had held the burning spade in his mouth, his black mustache was not [even] singed.

Among the Central Asians, the motif of "burning in fire" in the course of an independence movement is not confined to one location. For example, in 1927, Jafar Jabarli, an Azerbaijan author wrote a novel with the title *Od Gelini* (*Bride of Fire*). The main theme of this novel being the heroic battle of the Azerbaijanis against Arab invaders. It was also translated into Russian, under the title *Nevsta ognia*⁴ and Ibadin's work appears to share sentiments with it.

More recently is the case of Musa Mamut, a Crimean Tatar activist, striving to facilitate the return to the Crimean homeland of all Crimean Tatars

¹M. Eliade, *Shamanism : Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (Bollingen Paperback Series, 2nd Printing) (Princeton, 1974). (P. 20).

²Z. V. Togan, *Hattıralar* (Istanbul. 1969), (Pp. 401-2).

³Clarification in brackets is by Togan himself.

⁴Reference is found in N. A. Pashaev, *Pobeda Kul' turnoi revoliutsii v sovetskom Azarbaidzhane* (Moscow: Nauka. 1976). (P. 118). See also (issuing body) Academy of Sciences of the USSR, *Ocherk istorii Azarbaidzhanskoi sovetskoi literatury* (Moscow, 1963), which contains a synopsis (Pp. 145-146). *Od Gelini* was reissued in the original, in the collective works of Jafar Jabarli, *Eserler* Vol. I (Baku: Azarbaijan Devlet Neshriyatı, 1968).

who had been forcibly exiled to Central Asia by Stalin.¹ After much harassment from the authorities for his activities, Musa Mamut poured gasoline on himself and committed self-immolation in 1978, in the village of Beshterek [in Simferopol' district in Crimea]. He died from the burns he sustained.² The close proximity of this incident to the time of Ibadin's writing should be noted.

It is necessary further to point to three groups of issues pertinent to the readers of SUN IS ALSO FIRE: Sources, Motivation and Intentions.

Sources — As noted, Ibadin's sources are clearly discernible. He has thoroughly studied the primary Monuments of his patrimony: The Türk stelae erected in the 8th century along Orkhon-Yenisey; the 11th century *Compendium* of Kaşgarlı Mahmut; *Kutadgu Bilig* of Balasagunlu Yusuf, also of the 11th century A. D. Nor did he neglect the secondary sources. He is obviously quite comfortable with Bartold's *Turkestan*. He is unlikely to have confined himself to those, however, since there are other references in the work that reach beyond these volumes.³

Motivation — SUN IS ALSO FIRE has appeared during 1980, less than a year of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. One cannot help but wonder if Ibadin is using the Arab example of the 8th century because — at that point in time — he could not refer to the Russian occupation of Central Asia in the 19th century. Does he wish his readers to make the substitution? Or perhaps he is addressing the multinational population of Afghanistan, bringing the example of Central Asia to their attention, urging them on to carry on with their independence struggle. It should be noted that, soon

¹See R. Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union* (Harvard, 1954), (Passim). For an account of the tribulations of Crimean Tatars in more recent times, see also Peter Reddaway (Ed.), *Uncensored Russia: Protest and Dissent in the Soviet Union* (American Heritage Press, 1972) Pp. 249-269. Further, see H. B. Paksoy, "Chora Batir: A Tatar Admonition to Future Generations" *Studies in Comparative Communism* Vol. XIX Nos. 3 & 4 Autumn/Winter 1986; *Tatars of the Crimea: Their Struggle for Survival*, E. Allworth (Ed.), (Durham and London: Duke U P, 1988).

²See Resat Cemilev, *Musa Mamut: Human Torch*, M. Serdar, (Ed.) (New York: Crimea Foundation, 1986). Though this event had been reported in the Western press, most of the documentation, through interviews with eye witnesses, was originally compiled by Resat Cemilev. R. Cemilev is another Crimean Tatar who has drawn unwelcome attention of the Soviet authorities onto himself, not the least for his efforts to document the case of Musa Mamut. On R. Cemilev, see Reddaway, *Uncensored Russia*; also, *The Crimean Review* Vol. III, No. 1., May 1988. A third Crimean Tatar who has suffered a similar fate is Mustafa Cemilev (no relation to Resat). On Mustafa Cemilev, see *Shest' Denei: Sudebnyi Protsess Il'i Gabaia i Mustafy Dzhemileva*, M. Serdar (Ed.), (New York: Crimea Foundation, 1980).

³See the citations in the translation.

afterwards, Afghan historical literature also began appearing in the Uzbek press.¹

The plot of *SUN IS ALSO FIRE* is set partly on soil which is now Afghanistan, the medieval Ghaznavid territories, and partly in the Talas region at the opposite (Eastern) end of Central Asia. The depicted events taken place 900 to 1300 years ago. Given the fact that Ibadin demonstrates his historical knowledge and his facility with the sources, this ambiguity or blurring in time and territory seems to have been intentional and perhaps designed to emphasize the broad applications of the message.

Intentions — The workings of the censorship mechanism of Imperial Russia² and the Soviet Union³ are documented. Occasionally there appear to be some breakdowns in what strives to be a comprehensive system. One such incident is discernible immediately after the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. A sweeping change took place among the editorial personnel of Uzbek newspapers and journals in September 1980. In this period, under new editors, Uzbek journals published quite a few intensely nationalistic "novelettes," and "short stories." In 1982, just as abruptly, the editorial personnel were once again changed. Although the exact nature of this period, or the underlying political implications is not yet fully understood, the effects were notable. *SUN IS ALSO FIRE* was published [September 1980] at the very beginning of the first change.⁴

There are other concerns ever-present in the minds of Central Asian authors. Two are among the most prominent.

1. The Socialist Realism filter — From the outset (as in this resolution passed by the CPSU on 18 June 1925), the Soviet regime established that "... in a classless society there is and can be no neutral art."⁵

¹For example, *Afghan Halk Ertaklari*, Abdülhalif Ganiev (Editor) (Tashkent: Tashkent Section of Raduga Publishers, 1984). The tiraj page contains the following synopsis: "Dear Readers! In this work, examples of the oral creations from the Afghan people are presented to you... Afghan peoples' folk tales, from all aspects, are related to the creations of the peoples of Central Asia." (20,000 copies).

²M. T. Choldin, *A Fence Around The Empire: Censorship of Western Ideas under the Tsars* (Duke U P, 1985); B. Daniel, *Censorship in Russia* (Washington, 1979); Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Russian Empire 1801-1917* (Oxford, 1967).

³For example, M. Dewhurst and R. Farrell, *The Soviet Censorship* (Metuchen-NJ, 1973). See also L. Branson, "How Kremlin Keeps Editors in Line," *The Times* (London), 5 January 1986, (P. 1).

⁴See J. Soper, "Shake-Up in the Uzbek Literary Elite," *Central Asian Survey* (Henceforth, CAS), V 1, N 4, (1982).

⁵See, for example B. Dmytryshyn, *A History of Russia* (New Jersey, 1977), P. 51.

Thus, arts and literature are and must be a means for the dissemination of state and party propaganda. No writer living in the present Soviet domains is allowed to produce any work without adhering to the Socialist Realism formulated in the 1920s-30s and demanded by the state even now.¹ Although the "intensity" of Socialist Realism may fluctuate with time and efforts at enforcement, it is essentially ever present.²

Because the ideological function of the arts was first articulated by Lenin and later reiterated by his followers ad stet, no literary work can clear the censorship [at least theoretically] if it does not conform to the manuals prepared and distributed for the purpose of ideological screening. Hence, when an author decides to risk his career, his life and those of his family members in order to "speak his mind," he is obliged to do it in "doublespeak." That fact, too, may have contributed to the mixing of the two periods noted above. The interrelationship of historical references displayed in the "fiction" may also indicate the political tendencies or positions apparently acceptable to the authorities charged with the censorship task at the time of writing.

2. Ostensible "Pan Turanism" — Ibadin continually hammers at the theme of "unity" among Türks, especially in their efforts to resist foreign invasion. Many Western and Russian authors have discerned such efforts to be a sign of "Pan Turanism," ostensibly a movement by Türks to establish hegemony over the world, or at least Eurasia. In fact, this "Pan" movement has no historical ideological precedent among Türks and has been documented to be a creation of the Westerners. Around the time of the occupation of Tashkent by Russian troops in 1865, the doctrine called "Pan-Turanism" or "Pan-Turkism" appeared in a work by Hungarian Orientalist Arminius Vambery.³ Vambery, it is now known, was in the pay of the British Government.⁴

The doctrine was invented, propagated and attributed to the Türks by the Europeans as part of 19th century balance-of-power struggles, both in the matter of the weakened Ottoman Empire and against the Russian expansion in

¹See, for example, Robert V. Daniels, *A Documentary History of Communism* (Revised Ed.) Hanover and London, 1984, Vol. 1, (Pp. 298-301, 356-362).

²See, among others, D. Markov, *Socialist Literatures: Problems of Development* (Mosow, 1984); T. Eagleton, *Marxism and Literary Criticism* (London, 1976).

³See A. H. Vambery, *Travels in Central Asia* (London, 1865). Vambery masqueraded as a mendicant dervish across Central Asia, around 1860-61. Upon his return to Europe, he wrote several books on his adventures. See, for example, his *Sketches of Central Asia* (London, 1868). See also C. W. Hostler, *Turkism and the Soviets* (London, 1957).

⁴For archival references, see M. Kemal Öke, "Prof. Arminius Vambery and Anglo-Ottoman Relations 1889-1907" *Bulletin of the Turkish Studies Association*, Vol. 9, No. 2. 1985.

Central Asia. Dubbed the "Great Game in Asia" by its practitioners, the origins and means of this contest have been studied by E. Ingram.¹

Later, and even today, various Western entities have used this pseudomovement as a "bogey-man" to reap financial benefits, to "fortify the West" against "yellow hordes" sweeping out of Asia and swamping "Christendom." For example, L. Cahun's *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie, Turcs, et Mongols, des Origines à 1405*² was written to suggest that a racial superiority motivated the conquests of the Mongol Chingiz Khan. It is perhaps not coincidental that this book was published on the heels of the 1893-1894 Franco-Russian rapprochement, at a time when Russia justified its conquest of Central Asia as part of its own "civilizing mission".

In the *Secret History of the Mongols*, written c. 1240 A. D., after the death of Chingiz, there is, of course, no reference to the racial superiority of the Mongols. Instead, it quotes Chingiz: "Tangri (God) opened the gate and handed us the reins,"³ indicating that Chingiz regarded only himself ruling by divine order. The "Great Khan" himself was and remained the focus of power, as opposed to the clans under his rule. In any event, the Mongol armies were distinctly multi-racial.⁴

Another representative sample of this early phase of the "movement" is *A Manual on the Turanians and Pan-Turanianism*⁵ a work that was based on Vambery's *Türkenvolk*⁶ and that it was compiled by Sir Denison Ross, as Sir Denison later personally informed Togan.⁷ Even Alexander Kerensky, in Paris exile after the Bolshevik Revolution, was utilizing the same "Turanian" rhetoric, calling it "a menace threatening the world."⁸

¹See Edward Ingram, *The Beginnings of the Great Game in Asia 1828-1834* (Oxford, 1979); idem, *Commitment to Empire: Prophecies of the Great Game in Asia 1797-1800* (Oxford, 1981); idem, *In Defense of British India: Great Britain in the Middle East 1775-1842* (London, 1984). Although the major players were Britain and Russia, Germany also joined later in the century and the French were not disinterested.

²(Paris, 1896).

³See *Mogollarin Gizli Tarihi* (A. Temir, Trans.) (Ankara, 1948), (P. 227). There are more recent English translations as well, for example, by F. Cleaves.

⁴See T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism* (Berkeley, 1987); M. Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan* (Berkeley, 1988).

⁵H. M. Government, Naval Staff Intelligence Department (Oxford, November 1918).

⁶(Leipzig, 1885).

⁷On this work, see Togan's comments in *Türkili* (Pp. 560-563).

⁸For additional references, see H. B. Paksoy, "Central Asia's New Dastans" *Central Asian Survey* Vol. , N. 1, 1987.

Despite its European origins and apart from its European goals, the idea took root among some Central Asian emigrés, as it promised the removal of the Russian occupation and subsequent colonization in their homelands.¹ Accusations of "Pan-Turkism" are still employed, today, especially but not exclusively in the Soviet Union, against even cultural movements, scholarly works on the common origins and language of the Türks, even in conflict with and refuting another Soviet position that the dialects are separate and distinct "languages." The Soviet state has exerted much effort to introduce the "idea" of this "scientific finding," the existence of separate "Turkish languages" among Central Asians. It must be noted that in no Türk dialect or "language," is there any such distinction as "Turkic" and "Turkish." This distinction exists in some Western languages, as well as Russian, with the latter referring to the Ottoman or Turkish republican domains and the former, to other Turks.² It is noteworthy that, before the arrival of the Russians, the Central Asians were able to communicate among themselves, apparently totally oblivious to the fact that they were speaking in "totally separate and distinct languages."

The search for the historical sources and beginnings of their history is by no means confined to the inhabitants of one Soviet Republic or efforts of a single author. Though no comprehensive study of this aspect is made, the manifestations are so numerous in the Central Asian press that it is difficult to evade or ignore them. Even the tracing of history back to the Orkhon monuments, is not isolated any longer; one crosses paths of other examples: Qulmat Ömüraliev in *Kazak Edebiyati* No. 30 (1982);³ Ismail Ismailov, "Eski Yazılı Abidelerde Hemcins Uzviler" in *Azərbaycan Filologiyası Məsələləri* Vol. 2. (Baku: Elm, 1984)⁴; Suyerkul Turgunbaev "Bayırkı Kültegin Esteligi: VI-VIII Kilimdardagi Türk Poeziyasinan" *Ala Too* No. 9, 1988.⁵

¹ See J. M. Landau, *Pan-Turkism in Turkey: A study of Irredentism* (London, 1981). Landau's book is primarily concerned with the emigré aspects of "pan-Turkism."

² Many studies have been made of the so-called language reforms in the USSR. Among others, see especially Z. V. Togan, *Türkili Türkistan*; Stefan Wurm, *Turkic Peoples of the USSR: Their Historical Background, their Language, and the Development of Soviet Linguistic Policy* (Oxford, 1954); idem, *The Turkic Languages of Central Asia: Problems of Planned Culture Contact* (Oxford, 1954).

³ A commentary and analysis of this work is found in C. Carlson and H. Oraltay "Kül Tegin: Advice on the Future?" *Central Asian Survey*, V. 2, N. 2 (1983).

⁴ Published by Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, Nesimi Institute of Linguistics.

⁵ Organ of the Kirghizistan Writers Union.

The full-length translation presented below does not strive to "Westernize" the narration of Ibadin's work. All punctuation is as in the original, including the ellipses and changes in scenery. Sentence structure is also preserved to the extent possible. Ibadin provides 30 footnotes of his own throughout the text. Most are related to the explanations of words he has used, which do not appear in present-day dictionaries. Additional notes contain references that are supplied by the present writer, to place the work and its implications into perspective.

It must also be reiterated that the mixing of time periods and historical references arbitrarily, of the 8th and the 11th centuries A. D., and juxtaposition of real historical personages with events that may not have taken place appear to be intentional, so as to give the work an air of "fiction," thus avoiding Soviet censorship. Thus the "story" can be read as a "fiction" or a tightly packed and "indexed" real history.

SUN ALSO FIRE

*If the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, O Turkish people,¹ who would be able to destroy your state and institutions?*² "As written in the Kül Tigin Funerary Tablets, VIIth Century."

— "Alp Tekin, on your feet! Do not tarry, Alp Tekin!"

As he opened his eyes, Alp Tekin swiftly grasped his sword from underneath his pillow.

— "Is it the enemy, the Arabs?" he demanded.

¹Henceforth Ibadin's footnotes are marked "FN", followed by their number, and demarcated by double quotation marks " " from the references and commentary supplied by the present writer. "FN 1. halk." *Budun* is the original word in the text, which denotes nation, people. For the earliest recorded use of "budun." see Tekin, P. 234, et passim. For an analysis of the word *budun* as it occurs in the stelas, see Sümer; also Clauson (P. 306).

²The citation in *Gülistan* correctly identifies the source, *Kül Tigin* (or, Tekin. See definition above), but as dating from the VII century. They were erected in early 8th century. See W. Thomsen, "Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées," *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne* (Helsingfors, 1896). See Tekin for the English translation (P. 267) of these stelas. This quotation is from KT E22.

— "No, a letter is arriving from the orda...¹ perhaps..." said the karabash,² as he hesitated, embarrassed by the anguish his excitement caused his Bey.³

Alp Tekin tied a silk scarf around his forehead, tucking his singly braided hair to his belt, walked outside.

Sorrowful autumn. Scarlet leaves were spread around, covering the ground, making it appear as if splashed with blood. At a distance, some as yet unidentified horsemen were seen approaching the fortified position.

— "If from the Orda... who?" thought Alp Tekin. Then, his handsome face clouded with some disturbing thought, his heart sank: "Jibilga!" A longing look briefly lingered in the squinting eyes of the traditional Alpagut.⁴

"No, — the yigit⁵ sighed deeply, — what would Jibilga be doing in Kitkan?" Pacing to-and-fro under the stronghold gate, he recalled the events that brought him to Kitkan...⁶

¹*Orda* (Ordu) — lit. home, or headquarters, the seat of the tribal confederation or recognized central authority. By extension, in its historical setting, it also denotes an "army" composed of all tents (i.e. families), belonging to one federation. See Tekin, KT N8, N9. Also, DLT (Pp. 74, 150, 173, 413).

²"FN 2. servant." See Tekin, "qara," (passim). DLT (P. 543) uses both "servant" and "slave" to explain *karabash*.

³*Bey* — master, noble, leader of men, commander. See Tekin (P. 311 et passim) "Bag, Bay." Also Clauson (Pp. 32-7 and 329).

⁴"FN 3. Bahadır." *Bahadır* is a variant of the epithet *batir*, which is universally interchangeable with *Alp*. Moreover, the root of *Alpagut* is *Alp* (defined in Note 4). See Tekin "Alpagut" KT N7. Also DLT (Pp. 33, 74 et passim). Further, Clauson (P. 127). For *batir*, see J. Hangin, *A Concise English-Mongolian Dictionary* (Indiana, 1970), (P. 270).

The last syllable in *Alpagut* may be a variation of *kut*, wisdom, as found in KB. DLT (Pp. 83-4 and 27) explains *Alpagut* as an *alp* attacking the adversary singlehandedly, i.e. sufficiently powerful and courageous to do so without companions. Sümer (P. 552) indicates that *Alpagut* was an important grouping within the *Kara-Koyunlu* state of the XVth century. Togan in *Türkili* (P. 20) equates 19th and early 20th century usage of *Alpagut* with "propriétaire, landholder, Gutesbeiter, pomeschik."

⁵*Yigit* is the traditional word for a young man of worthy qualities. See DLT (Pp. 178 and 447). Also Clauson (P. 911).

⁶"The city of Git (Jit) was opposite Madhminiya, on the left bank of the river (Amu Darya), near a mountain, behind which began the steppe." See Bartold, (P. 151).

During the spring of 739 A. D., Arslan Tarhan¹, the Hakan² of Ferghana, attacked with his troops the domains of Talas Hakan Tugasiyen³, destroying the land and scattering the army of the latter. The fighting between these Türk tribes did not produce a winner. Unfortunately, the severe losses of the Türks, as a result of internecine fighting, were benefiting the Arabs who were amassing troops at the foothills of Ustrushana.⁴ Moreover, the Türk State, keeping its existence by the force of sword against the Chinese troops in Davon⁵ was weakened.

The Arabs, owning half the earth, had occupied the roads leading to Ferghana and were waiting for an easy opportunity. Three or four months after the Talas battle, the Khaliph's governor in Khorasan, Nasr bin Sayyar⁶ had entered Sogdia with a large body of troops. From there, he sent letters to the rulers of Shash⁷ and Ferghana, inviting them to accept Islam and Arab rule.

¹ *Tarhan* is utilized to denote a member of the ruling elite. According to DLT (P. 180), "(it signifies a ruler) in the Argu dialect." See Bartold (P. 184; 28); also Tekin (passim) *qagan*. Further, see R. N. Frye "Tarxun-Turxun and Central Asian History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14 (1951). See also Pritsak, (inter alia, P. 221).

² *Hakan* = *Khan*, the ruler. See also. O. Pritsak, "Qara," *Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armagan* (Istanbul, 1955).

³ Although the name *Tugasiyen* does not appear in that form in the cited sources, Bartold (passim) deals with no less than 12 *Tughan Khan* who lived between the 11th and 13th centuries. Most carried other names as well, suggesting that this, too, may have been used as a "ruling title." In addition, Bartold cross-references some of the holders of the epithet *Taj-al-Din* (Crown of Religion) with *Tughan*.

⁴ "FA 4. Ustrushana, the old name for Uratpe." A city in Syr Darya. See Togan (P. 27). Bartold (P. 166) cross-references this city as Ura-tube. See also Tekin (P. 391).

⁵ "FN 5. The name given to Ferghana by the Chinese." Togan (p. 4) locates a pass called *Davanchin* in today's Xinjiang. The latter is also referenced as "Eastern Turkistan." Togan also explains *duvan* as having been extracted from "*divan*, the seat of government" (p. 138) and provides two specific locations.

⁶ For Nasr bin Sayyar, see Bartold (Pp. 192-4 and 240 et passim). The date A. D. 739, location Sirdarya, the office of Sayyar and his deeds referenced by Ibadin agree with the historical sources.

⁷ *Shash* is the old name for Tashkent. See DLT for the names of the cities and localities belonging to the Türks. See Togan (P. 9); Bartold (passim). It is also of note that in DLT (P. 198) Quyas (Kuyas) is described as "a small district beyond Barsgan, inhabited by Çigil." Another Kuyas, near Tarazk (Talas) is also identified. DLT also states (P. 21 and 198 et passim) "Çigil are a tribe of the Türks."

Upon receiving the letter of Sayyar, threatening them from head-to-toe, Arslan Tarhan called a Kurultay¹ in his orda located along Enchi Oghuz.²

Arslan Tarhan's younger brother, scholarly Alp Tekin was also present at the kurultay, who possessed the Sogdian courtly³ eloquence, and familiarity with Arabic and Chinese.

At the time of the Kengesh⁴, the Apatarhan⁵ Sebük Tekinbek looking at the quietly sitting Begs, mockingly stated: "We know the Arabs! We must fight!" Then, giving a manly salute to Arslan Tarhan sitting on his leopard skin covered throne, continued:

— "My Hakan! Ugushlarim.⁶ We heard that both the Afshin⁷ of Ushrushana and the bahadır Tudun of Shash are accepting the terms of the Khaliph. We are now alone. That dog⁸ Tugasiyen killed many of our brave young man. We have heavily pained our enemies, despite the suffering of our yigits, untended horses, and scarcity of our arrows in the quivers." Casting a glance at Alp Tekin, he swallowed, and continued: "If it is not possible to

¹ *Kurultay* is also known as *kengesh*, meaning assembly. It is a basic pluralistic institution among the Türks found in the earliest documents (and still practiced under various names and forms), where matters of state is discussed and debated. The selection of a ruler often is decided in a *kurultay* or *kengesh*. For the root of *Kurultay*, see DLT.

² FN 6. In old Turkish, this was the name of Sirdarya." See DLT "*Eki Oguz*" (P. 42). Although not using the word "enchi," Togan (P. 50 et passim) and Bartold (P. 201 et passim) agree that Oghuz (also spelled as Guzz or Ghuzz) were living along Sirdarya during this time-frame. Bartold (P. 152) uses *Chakir-Oghuz* living in Istakri, in Sirdarya, bordering on Khorezmia. See also O. Pritsak, "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 101 (Wiesbaden, 1951), especially P. 276; idem, "The Decline of the Empire of the Oghuz Yabgu" *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, II, (New York, 1952). For a comprehensive treatment of Oguz, see F. Sümer, *Oguzlar*. Kaşgarlı Mahmut provides important and early information on Oghuz in DLT (passim); *The Book of Dede Korkut*, Geoffrey L. Lewis (Tr.) (London, 1974), provides further insight into the Oghuz.

³ FN 7. *Ihshid* is the title of Sogdian rulers." Bartold (P. 93-5) spells it as *Ikhshid* of Sogd, whereas Togan (P. 98) uses the form *Akhsid*. See also Frye, op. cit.

⁴ For *Kengesh*, see above, note on "Kurultay."

⁵ FN 8. In the army of the Turks, Commander-in-Chief." It is found in KT, S14. In DLT (P. 53) there is a quatrain containing *Apa Alp*, associated with a body of troops. Togan (155-6) refers to *Apak* being the leaders of troops located between Kashgar and Ferghana during the 17th century. See also notes above on *Alp* and *Tarhan*.

⁶ FN. 9 *Ugush* — *kardas*. From 'karindas,' [lit.] 'of the same womb;' hence, in this case, 'brother.' Thus *Ugushlarim* is "my brothers." DLT (P. 43) contains *Okush* with the meaning "clan." This word also means "(native) intelligence." Loc. cit.

⁷ FN. 10 *Afshin* and *Tudun* are the titles given to the rulers of Ushrushana and Shash." *Tudun* is found in Tekin, BK E40. DLT (P. 40) has *Afshar*, identified as a branch of Oghuz, a tribe of the Türks. Bartold (P. 211) refers to a particular individual as having "achieved great renown under the name of *Afshin*, (the title of the princes of Ushrushana)... who was executed in A. D. 841." Further, see Frye, op. cit.

⁸ FN 11. *Itlik* means it (dog)."

chew the stone, it is necessary to kiss it,"¹ said the forefathers. Think about it!"

Sebük Tekinbek, having amassed untold amount of goods in the Talas battle², was now weary, longing for the comforts of his home.³ Alp Tekin knew his companion⁴ quite well. Sebük Tekinbek could behave like the father of a nasty boil! Keeping that in mind, Alp Tekin did not immediately join the discussion, but patiently listened to the other beys. The aged and not entirely truthful beys, who have added flocks of sheep to their possessions after the Talas battle, pessimistically pontificated at length on the number and power of the Arabs, the weariness of the Türk Bori,⁵ the difficulty of success against the prevailing odds.

Sebük Tekinbek, arose, spoke of the exemption privileges extended to those inhabitants of Bukhara and Samarkand who joined the community of Muhammad,⁶ and the fact that the dehkan⁷ were not at all opposed to the state.

"Deceitful posture" thought Alp Tekin, driving the topic out of his mind "the lustre of gold is burning his heart. The Arabs knowingly say 'the coquetry of gold causes the mejusi⁸ to accept religion, it also grants tongue to the mute.' Perhaps Aka⁹ is more concerned about his throne. He who is concerned about the throne is not concerned with the affairs of the people. In order for him to rule, he only needs healthy people. It does not matter to him

¹This is a proverb taken directly and verbatim from DLT; P. 92.

²Discussed above.

³Ibadin uses *ütov*, referencing the traditional and well known cylindrical steppe tent. It must be noted that the word "yurt," usually associated with that tent is not entirely correct, since "yurt" refers to the mark left by the tent on the steppe grass or ground, after it has been removed. Hence, "yurt" means "homeland." The actual word for tent is "tirik," i. e. erect, erected.

⁴The word used by Ibadin, *tagoysi* has several meanings: companion, elder; from the root *toga*, brother-in-law. It is also a form of address, denoting respectful deference. Here, the exact inference is unclear.

⁵FN 12. In the regular Türk army, permanent troops." DLT (P. 542) defines *bori* as wolf — "proverb: The wolf does not eat his neighbor." Thus the soldiers are being likened to the wolf, the totem of early Türk tribes and sometimes regarded as the semi-mythical forebear of the Türks. See also H. B. Paksoy, "The Traditional Oglak Tartis Among the Kirghiz of the Pamirs," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1985, Part II. Further, D. Sinor, "Some Components of the Civilization of the Türks: 6th to 8th Century A. D." *Altaistic Studies: Papers Presented at the 25th Meeting of the PIAC*. G. Jarring and S. Rosen (Eds.) (Stockholm, 1985).

⁶The reference is, of course, to the Prophet of Islam, thus to becoming a Muslim; the community of believers is the *umma*. For *umma*, inter alia, see M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago, 1974) (passim).

⁷FN 13. Rich landholder." Bartold (passim). also uses this definition.

⁸Ibadin uses the word *mejusi* (lower case), which means both "fireworshipper" (a popular if incorrect reference for Zoroastrians) and "strange (r)."

⁹The reference is to Arslan Tarhan.

if the people are fire-worshippers or Muslims... Alas, in this kurultay, I fear they sold their own Türk religion¹ and language. I wonder?"

— "Sebük Tekinbek" said he, with fiery eyes. "Is it not true that the bezirgan² regularly visiting Tuput³ actually stop at your place!"

Arslan Tarhan appeared to be pained. The attention of the beys turned to Alp Tekin. Alp Tekin, though eagerly awaited by the beys, did not wish to continue with this harsh line. But, since a light of treachery was thus cast on the indicated actions of Sebük Tekinbek, he was compelled to resume: — "Look at these swallows...⁴ Beys, perhaps with difficulty, they make their nests, they rear their young which they brought to life, teach them to fly; to these birds, without [the power of] reason,⁵ what is the benefit⁶ of this hardship?"⁷

— "So that the family⁸ of swallows does not become annihilated in this land!"⁹ responded Alp Er Tunga, while casting a raised eyebrow at the aged beys.

¹According to the late İ. Kafesoğlu, the original religion of the Turks was the worship of *Tanrı*, a monotheistic belief, quite different from shamanism. See his *Türk Milli Kültürü* (Istanbul, 1984) (3rd Ed) Pp. 295-7, and the sources cited therein. René Grousset, in *Empire of the Steppes* (N. Walford Tr.) (New Brunswick-NJ, 1970), identifies the word *Tangri* as Turkic and Mongol meaning "Heaven" (p. 20); he states (p. 23) that the Hsiung-nu (considered as Turks and often identified with the Huns) practiced a religion that "was a vague shamanism based on the cult of *Tangri* or Heaven and on the worship of certain sacred mountains." Based on Pelliot and Thomsen, he seems to confirm Kafesoğlu's contention of monotheism, but still related to shamanism:

The moral concepts (in the Kül Tegin stela)... are borrowed from the old cosmogony which formed the basis of Turko-Mongol shamanism... Heaven and earth obeyed a supreme being who inhabited the highest level of the sky and who was known by the name of Divine Heaven or *Tangri*." (p. 86)

Tengri (in this form) is referenced in Tekin KT (passim); DLT (passim). Consult also Eliade, who identifies *Tangri* only as one god of the Yakut (p. 471); elsewhere he describes the hierarchy of gods (Chapter 6).

²"FN 15. Savdakar (merchant)." Here, those merchants travelling with caravans.

³"FN 14. The old Türk name for Tibet." It is found in Tekin, KT E4, E5. Bartold (Pp. 200-202) provides the backdrop for the alluded relations and events; he also describes (P. 66 et passim) trade with Tibet. DLT (P. 179) has an entry under '*Tubut*,' referring to "a large tribe in the lands of the Turks..."

⁴On the swallow, see DLT P. 169.

⁵"FN 16. *Ug* (reason, intelligence)." DLT (P. 93) uses the form "us".

⁶"FN 18. *Asig* (benefit)." Found in DLT (passim).

⁷"FN 17. *Emgak* (hardship, suffering)." In DLT (P. 145) as *amga*.

⁸*Urug* — family. In DLT (P. 44 et passim); also meaning "seed."

⁹Ibadin uses the old word *ajun* to denote realm instead of a later borrowing, *dünya*. See DLT (P. 33).

— "Live Long!" gratefully acknowledged Alp Tekin. "Our ancestors, much like these swallows, have reared us with the same hopes; what do you think? Did they not devote their generation to ours, so that our lineage would be perpetuated, the Türks would not become extinct in this realm? Now, would we not be stepping on the faces of our ancestors, losing them eternally, by accepting the religion of a newcomer and forgetting our language; if one of us did this, for fear of losing his fame,¹ another grief-stricken over lost gold; is that not true, beys? Is there a more ugly deed in this blessed world?² If there is, speak up, beys?"

— "Brothers, to the enemy!" Alp Er Tunga shouted with abandon, jumping to his feet, unsheathed his sword, looking toward to the West.³

— "To the enemy, to the enemy!" echoed the other beys immediately.

However, Arslan Tarhan and Sebük Tekinbek glanced at each other, winking meaningfully.

Afterwards, Arslan Tarhan sent Alp Tekin to the Kitkan fortified⁴ post...

While Alp Tekin was recalling these events in his mind, he was keeping an eye on the approaching horsemen: two riders leading two pack camels. He surmised the identity of one of the riders from the way he was trundling on the saddle: it must be Bugrabek. Alp Tekin recognized the second rider as it burst through a cloud of dust. His [Alp Tekin's] face turned red as if reflecting the flames of a fire: Jibilga! Mounting his purebred horse, to greet them, he galloped towards the nearing young riders. In a short time, the clouds of dust kicked up by both sides merged.

* * *

¹"FN 19. *Ad* (Fame, renown, reputation; also, 'name')."

²Ibadin uses the phrase *agus ajun*. For *ajun*, see above. *Agus* denotes halo, enlightened, under the oneness of God.

³The direction from whence the invasion was issuing.

⁴Perhaps this "fortified post" (*korugan*), if it existed, is a response to the "ribat" system used in Central Asia by the Arab invaders (recalling similar Roman posts of an earlier location and era), to hold on to their conquests, to contain counter-attacks from the steppe. For *ribat*, see Bartold (passim); Hodgson (passim). Later, Russian imperial armies utilized a similar chain of "fortresses" during the 18th century to expand across the steppe, and later (19th c.) southward into Central Asia from the West. See, inter alia, Togan (passim); G. J. Demko, *The Russian Colonization of Kazakhstan 1896-1916* (Bloomington, 1969).

— "So, what is the word from the orda?"

Bugrabek took the opportunity of coupling his mouth to the drinking vessel, containing crystal clear water of Kitkan, capable of soothing away exhaustion, began chewing a mouthful of bread. Jibilga was going in and out along with the servant girls, rather than sitting at the side of Bugrabek, whose legs were saddle bruised, whiling away time at the courtyard of the korugan. This yigit, who had accompanied Jibilga from the orda, was Sebük Tekinbek's adopted son, representative of his family. Bugrabek had a lazy nature, ordering around his father's countless servants, not leaving the enclosure of the white tent. He was a man who did not care what happened around him, even if horses...¹ would be taken away, he could not think of going after them, but protecting the insects. Alp Tekin would say "if it is not for the benefit of the insects, what use is the stubble of the field?"² whenever his eye encountered Bugrabek.

— "Health in the orda" — said Bugrabek with a wheeze.

— "What answer did they give to Nasr?" Bugrabek cleared his throat, scratched his neck. Alp Tekin became impatient.

— "Do you have a tongue?"

After some more minutes of wheezing, croaking and clearing his throat, words began to fall out of Bugrabek's mouth like the crumbs of a torn piece of bread:

— "By the grace of God... it was deemed appropriate to send a white letter³ in response to Nasr's missive..."

— "What are you saying?" ... bellowed Alp Tekin — "You... Swine! Are you speaking the truth?"

¹Horse is probably the most valuable and esteemed possession in Central Asia.

²The word *tunka* (used in Ibadin's text here) also intimates a worthless, incurably slothful person.

³FN 20. Accepting the demand."

He grabbed Bugrabek by the throat and shook him mightily. Bugrabek collapsed as if he were deflated.¹ Alp Tekin, standing over the drained face of this adopted bey:

— "Speak" he said.

— "Beys held a kengesh... later... a messenger was sent to Nasr... Nasr's regent² will be arriving in Ferghana tomorrow...

— "Satkinlar!³ Alp Er Tunga, Alp Turan?⁴ Did they not oppose?"

— "Alp Er Tunga and Alp Turan were beheaded..."

— "My God! What fate?"

In the wrathful eyes of Alp Tekin, Bugrabek appeared as the personification of scandalously corrupt Arslan Tarhan and Sebük Tekinbek. Preparing to separate body from head, he unsheathed his sword. Bugrabek, with bloodshot eyes betraying fear, placed his head on Alp Tekin's feet. Just as he aimed his sword at the hairy neck of the adopted bey, like a predatory bird:

— "Alp Tekin, don't!" — screamed Jibilga, as she ran in ...

— "Offer a sacrifice to Umay,⁵ for the sake of Jibilga" — groused Alp Tekin, as he sheathed his sword.

¹In order not to interrupt the narration, I adopted this phrase, to generally convey the image intended by Ibadin. He manages to pack a number of "pictures" into precious few words for which there is little or no English cultural counterpart. (I term that method "indexing.") The original allusion is to the manner with which Central Asian households of the period packed their belongings, their clothes, with the specific terms applied to those materials — the way these bundles might be untidily strewn over the ground under some force, such as the one experienced by a wrestler (a most popular sport) in a competition, especially when thrown on the ground by the winner; when the wrestler thrown would look as if his "stuffing" has been torn out. The image is imparted by the description of Bugrabek's posture and the particular words bellowed by Alp Tekin. On occasion, elsewhere in the text, I have made use of the nearest English equivalent phrases in the same vein, when not doing so would have required the insertion of additional lengthy explanatory paragraphs, thus impeding the flow.

²"FN 21. yogunchi (lieutenant, regent)."

³In this context, *Satkinlar*: those who are sold; not only materially, but also spiritually, mentally, morally corrupt; criminal.

⁴See Bartold (P. 64) "Amu Darya as the customary official boundary between Iran and Turan..." The word *Turan* occurs in the *Shahname*, the Persian epic compiled by the celebrated poet Firdawsi. In that context, *Turan* referred to non-Iranians to the East. See also Togan (P. 78, et passim).

⁵"FN 22. Türk Goddess." See Tekin, KT. E31, T II, W3. Kafesoglu (P. 289), citing A. Inan, traces *Huma* to Iranian-Indian beliefs. See also D. Sinor, "'Umay,' a Mongol spirit honored by the Turks" *Proceedings of International Conference on China Border Area Studies, National Chengchi University*. (Taipei, 1985). Pp. 1771-1781.

Bugrabek did not brave standing up, he crawled away.

— "Alp Tekin..." Jibilga's wavering voice and the hesitant look in her almond-shaped eyes became evident to Alp Tekin.

— "Alp Tekin, as you know, reportedly Nasr has amassed plenty of troops... 'I am going to annihilate the Türks,' he is said to have stated..."

— "Jibilga, what are you saying?"

— "It is said that Nasr is not going to collect *kharaj* or *jizye*¹ from us, only if we were to accept his religion. Alp Tekin, I expect this condition will unite the Türks!"

— "For God's sake go away, go away Jibilga!"

Alp Tekin was compellingly drawn to the banks of Kitkan river, began splashing water onto his face. "Ey!" he roared, towards the wide open spaces "where are you now, the glorious *batirs*² of the Türks, those of you who at one time held sway from Chochon³ to Rum; from Altay to Boipin,⁴ where are you?"

* * *

Shadows were settling in from the East. The night quietly embraced the Kitkan korugan with its helmeted guards visible at the turrets on high walls. When darkness became total, the scarlet tongues of flames leaping from the oven fireboxes remained visible. Eternally defiant of night, yet again rearing their heads, because light is born to the arms of darkness!...

¹For *Jizya* (poll-tax paid by non-Muslims), see Hodgson (V. 1:270); also, F. Rahman, *Islam* (Chicago, 1966), P. 28. *Haraj* (also styled *kharaj*), is tributary land-tax paid by non-Muslims under Muslim rule. See Bartold (P. 188); Hodgson (P. 270). See also Bartold for taxation under Umayyads (Pp. 187-192), Abbasids (Pp. 204, 220), Samanids (Pp. 220, 238-40), Ghaznavids (Pp. 287-293).

²As in "alp." See above.

³FN 23. Korea."

⁴*Rum* is the customary designation of lands located adjacent to the Western edges of Central Asia. See DLT (passim). For example, Ottomans were referenced as "*Rumi*" by those residing to the East of them. See, inter alia, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, C. Brockelmann (Ed.) London, 1982) (7th printing) P. 257. *Altai* is the mountain range. DLT (P. 58) suggests that a portion of that range may also have been referenced as *Altun Kan*. Boiping (gac) (Beijing? Bayingyi? Beypil?) is open to interpretation. Moreover, many extant oral literary works — not yet fixed on paper — still keep native geographical place names alive. See Togan *Türkistan* (Pp. 564).

— "If we were to learn Arabic, speaking in this beautiful language, we would be communicating with half of the world. It indeed is the language of Bagdad, Damascus, used by the alp poets of the world!"

— "You are forgetting the most powerful poetry in the world, lullabies recited by our mothers as they stood over our cradles,¹ Jibilga!..."

The flames in the hearth were casting a pale light upon Alp Tekin and Jibilga, lying on the wooden platform, then causing a naked sword on the floor to glisten before dissipating into the dark corners of the house. Suddenly Jibilga reached over the bare sword and touched the wrist of Alp Tekin with her long fingers. Alp Tekin's flesh tingled, his body stiffened.

— "Alp Tekin, do you recall our talks at the apple orchard?"

— "Could those times be ever forgotten?"

... Ah, those sweet memories, recalling the delightful times of days past! Enjoying the exquisite melodies emanating from the *chankavuy*² played by Jibilga which would accompany drinking *kimiz*³, then, knowingly winking at each other, would begin courting.

Alp Tekin would silently visit his Toga's⁴ apple orchard, sit and wait for Jibilga in the quiet corner. Their greeting the dawn together was ostensibly unknown by anybody in Sebük Tekinbek's household, accepting the gifts of

¹This argument, inter alia, is reminiscent of the first editorial of Jelil Memmedkuluzade, writing under the pseudonym Molla Nasreddin, during 1906 in the didactic-satirical journal *Molla Nasreddin*: "... it is necessary to recall the days past: remember those days when your mother rocked you in your crib, she sang you lullabies in the Turkish language..." See H. B. Paksoy, "Elements of Humor in Central Asia: The Example of the Journal *Molla Nasreddin* in Azerbaijan" *Turkestan, als historischer Faktor und politische Idee* (B. Hayit Festschrift), Erling von Mende (Ed.) (Köln, 1988).

²*Chankavuy* is a musical instrument played with the lips and the tongue. For a description, with photographs, see Bolat Saribaev), *Kazaktin Muzikalik Aspaptari* (Musical Instruments of the Kazakhs) (Alma Ata: Jalin, 1978). (Pp. 64-67).

³Also known as *qumiss*, etc. See, inter alia, DLT (P. 184). It is still an immensely popular drink, contains — due to the fermentation process in its preparation — natural alcohol. However, it is not in the same category as hard liquor, possessing much less intoxicating agents. It is not plentiful year round owing to the seasonal elements. Russians became aware of the nourishing and rejuvenating qualities of *kimiz* after their occupation of Kazakhstan. Currently, several sanatoriums are operating in the Kazakh steppe where ingestion of *kimiz* is the primary dietetic and therapeutic prescription, especially against diagnosed tuberculosis. Probably this discovery of the beneficial effects of *kimiz*: on TB cused Moscow to reconsider and relax the sovhoz-kolhoz rules in the area, in order to insure the maintenance of large herds of mares necessary to supply the sanatoriums where the CPSU Officialdom is treated.

⁴Reference is to Jibilga's father. See above for the comments pertaining to *Togaysi*.

Tuput origin from Alp Tekin and turning a blind eye to Jibilga's early morning outings, which supposedly went totally unnoticed.

When the moon reached overhead, as Alp Tekin's patience ebbed from waiting, Jibilga would appear from the direction of the water canal.

During those heady days the sounds of the Enchi Oghuz would be audible at the distance, until dawn... Ah, what would they not discuss! Their intense discussions would inevitably turn to the appreciation of the prominent Türks of the past, they would end the night without sleep. "The land of Türks were in a single religion at the time of Bumin¹ Han and contemporaries, now some worship fire, others became Manichean or Buddhist. What calamity that it turned out so!" would say Jibilga. "What are you getting at?" "It is necessary for the Türks to belong in one religion for their future unity." "Did that thought originate from your father?" "What do you think? He is not called the Tonyukuk² of Arslan Tarhan, by the Beys for nothing." "Which language of the Tengri³ are we speaking in Jibilga? Our ancestors did not leave us the pyramids of the Pharaohs, they only bequeathed us their language. If we were to forget this language, would they not be dried like a river absorbed into the sands? No, it is best to be seeking refuge in fire — worshipping the Tengri is the best path. Actually, the mother of this realm — is the sun and fire! Worshipping the sun!" The sun! Ha-ha-ha!" Jibilga's hearty laughter reverberated in the orchard, causing [.....]⁴ to come out in a hurry, her hair reflecting the moon's glow. "If I were the sun, I would not simply radiate, but I would have destroyed the enemies of the people and bestow upon them life sustaining warmth!"⁵

At times, while Jibilga played the changavuy, the melodies seemingly melded with the silky light of the moon and draped like a soft mist over the apple blossoms...

— "Alp Tekin, did you fall asleep?"

Alp Tekin rubbed his eyes like a child about to fall into sweet slumber.

¹Bumin Han is a Türk prince, referenced in KT, E1 and BK, E3. See Tekin (Pp. 263 and 263).

²"FN 24. During the I. and II. Türk Kaganates, a very high ranking political personage."

³See above for Tengri.

⁴At the end of this paragraph, in the type-setting process, the text is overlaid by one of the ornamental drawings — by J. Umarbek(ov) — illustrating the story, hence obscuring several words. The illegible words appear to be further elaboration of the circumstance in metaphorical terms.

⁵"FN 25. Fire, warmth."

— "Alp Tekin, listen. I have a few words for you."

Alp Tekin quiveringly shook his head and looked.

— "Suppose I accept the new religion... What would happen?"

— "I do not have mercy upon those who betray¹ their own religion!"

Jibilga suddenly grasped the sword from its blade and placed the hilt in Alp Tekin's hand:

— "In that case, strike!"

— "Jibilga!" cried out Alp Tekin, jumping to his feet.

— "It has been three years since my father recited the creed,² all of us, even Bugrabek..."

— "Jibilga!". To Jibilga, the frightening scream emanating from the throat of the yigit resembled the moanings of a man who has been hit by a dirk in the chest.

Alp Tekin drew his knife and began slashing his own face...³ Jibilga's pearl-like tears were discernible in the reflecting light.

* * *

— "Brothers!" — upon noticing the face of Alp Tekin, the troops looked at each other ask if to ask "Is Arslan Tarhan dead?" — "Hear me! I rebelled against my own brother!⁴ You should know that he was once a worshipper of fire.⁵ Now he has made his religion, language, subservient to throne. Mind you, this is religion, language; living in the bosoms, the

¹FN 26. Treason, rebellion." See "kutgu" in DLT (Passim).

²Creed is one of the Five Pillars of Islam. "There is no God but God and Mohammed is his messenger." According to doctrine, anyone reciting this creed knowingly will become a Moslem.

³FN 27. The ancient Türks gashed their faces upon the death of a close kin." Hence, shedding bloody tears. See also Lewis, *The Book of Dede Korkut* (passim); Grousset (Pp. 23 and 87).

⁴Aka — elder brother.

⁵The drawings again obliterated a word each of the preceeding two sentences. Therefore, from the flow of the sequence, I endeavored to reconstruct the context.

tongues of each of us, our homeland! The flowing Enchi Oghuz, plentiful apple orchards and pastures are our homeland, but when we consider it closely, there is another, altogether mighty homeland, inseparable from ourselves; that is, our language. Can any man who ruthlessly discards this precious inheritance, homeland, still be a lord in his own home? Tell me, people!"

— "Certainly not! Certainly not!" roared the troops.

— "Correct! Tomorrow the regent of Nasr is arriving in Ferghana. Are there quarters for him in Ferghana? Tell me Türks!"

— "There is! But it is in the dark earth!" shouted the troops.

— "Good! Starting today. Orda of this homeland is Kitkan! The Hakan of the people is me; I am Alp Tekinbek! I issue a mobilization¹ order to all Türks. We are going to defend the korugan with all our might.² No mercy to those who sell or buy this homeland!"

* * *

Although Apatarhan Sebük Tekinbek's troops were reinforced by the ghazis³ arriving from Samarkand, and together they had laid siege to Kitkan korugan for twenty days, they had been unable to conquer. The apatarhan was most unhappy. He was incessantly ordering new attacks, but an unknown number, according to some rumors one thousand, or said some informants, one hundred Türk troops defending the thick walls were keeping at bay a force of five thousand. Those in the fortification had stockpiled naphtha from the Chimyan mountain, which they were burning in bowls and pouring onto those who came close to the walls, thereby keeping them away.

The water-wells began to dry-up with the choking of Kitkan korugan by Sebük Tekinbek. Food and drink was rationed and the women and children who came to the korugan from surrounding kishlaks⁴ began suffering. The use of naphtha against the attacks had to be carefully husbanded. The days of Kitkan korugan appeared numbered when catapults from Usrushana and reinforcements from Arslan Tarhan's orda arrived to aid the attackers. All of the possessions of the korugan was defended by some one hundred troops, who were rendered weak from malnourishment and lack of water.

¹"FN 28. *Kilkuyruk* is an order to begin general mobilization."

²"FN 29. *Amul* is caution, stronghold." See DLT (Pp. 49-50).

³Ghazi are the fighters for Islamic belief. Many sources provide description. For example, see Hodgson (passim).

⁴*Kislak* is the winter quarters, as opposed to *yaylak*, the summer pastures.

In deep thought, Alp Tekin approached the distant guard room of the korugan. Humidity greeted him upon opening the small, squeaking door. As the door opened Jibilga rose, looking at the entering figure, and faced away. At the corner, with beard and hair unkept like weeds, Bugrabek was eating noisily with full cheeks. Noticing Alp Tekin, he pressed his forehead to the ground and rose.

For a moment, both the yigit and the girl were silent. Alp Tekin lowered his head:

— "Jibilga," he started, "give up that path! Do not turn your face away from homeland!"

— "I am but a servant of God..."

— "Jibilga, but your father accepted that religion to preserve his own wealth..."¹

— "You are speaking in vain! My father wishes to unite his subjects who are adherents of Zoroastrianism, Manicheanism, Buddhism in one religion and language!

Alp Tekin shook his head, Jibilga looked at him a moment and noticed the bandaging on his arm:

— "What happened to your arm?" she asked.

— "An enemy sword touched it."

— "Alp Tekin!" Jibilga suddenly kneeled, put her head on yigit's foot, began crying. "They will kill you! The entire population is aware that your brother is afraid of you! If they were to kill you, your brother will have his day. Could not a educated yigit like you perceive that? If you were to go to them, they would look after you. And then..."

— "I would ascend to my brother's throne?" Alp Tekin's voice was weighty. "No, I shall not climb to the throne treading on the faces of my ancestors."

¹"FN 30. *Sokinchida* (to take action)." For the root, see DLT (P. 273).

— "According to the defenders, korugan has a day remaining, it is not late. Come, I can teach you the creed..."

— "I do not wish to reach Tengri shame-faced, as one who has sold his religion and language!"

— "Ah my undesired path, my heart rends seeing the wound of your marrow. When you undertake the fight, it is your stubbornness that gnaws at me and not the rats of this damp dungeon. Still, you do not speak of the future of our love?"

— "My heart is heavy, because you are correct Jibilga! I am going to the orda of Tengri but is my woman coming as a detached stranger to that heavenly dwelling? My heart and bosom is torn saying this. This eternal separation will take place before we are united in this world, Jibilga."

Alp Tekin's voice strained, reached down to stroke Jibilga's hair:

— "Jibilga... Go, my love..."

— "Alp Tekin, recite the creed... Recite the creed..."

Alp Tekin pulled his legs from Jibilga's embrace, left.

* * *

After dark enemy catapults breached the korugan walls in one-two places. But the enemy could not gain inside access. Alp Tekin's troops were heaving bowls full of burning naphta to keep them away. It was clear that the remaining life of the korugan was not long.

* * *

— "Jibilga, I have half a day left in this life..."

— "There still is time to recite the Creed..."

Alp Tekin sent for the Diviner.¹

— "Diviner, you know my love towards my woman. I do not wish her to meet the Tengri with a blackened face."

The Diviner knew of the circumstances. He stated to Alp Tekin:

— "Fire is the most fresh, greatest cure for ailing souls, a sanctifying halo. Those who are bathed in fire will reach the abode of Tengri purified of the past deeds, possessing cleansed spirits..."

Alp Tekin was shaken.

— "How horrifying your words are, Diviner. You..."

— "Yes, fire, sacred fire will cleanse your woman from her past deed by separating the body from purified soul and send it to Tengri. The fire, flames..."

— "Jibilga!" terrified, dreading, sorrowful voice of Alp Tekin, as if not his own, reverberated along the inner walls of the korugan. Jibilga motioned in the negative. "No, no." Tears streaming from his eyes, Alp Tekin took refuge behind the water-well.

In the middle of the korugan, preparations began to build a fire. Dry logs were cut at the height of a human, placed upright in the middle of the wood pile.

The sun was setting behind the mountains.

Jibilga arrived at the pile fearlessly. Then Bugrabek was brought, by collar and trouser-cuff from the dungeon. He screamed, grappling at the ankles of the guards, as two-three guards dragged him towards the pile.

Bugrabek spotted Alp Tekin, in awe, crawled towards him.

— "My Bey, I am no longer a Muslim. I gave up that strange religion, I gave it up!" Crying, he grasped Alp Tekin's legs.

¹ Ibadin uses *kahin*, which also means priest, seer.

— "Take this away!" Said Alp Tekin, holding himself back.

Jibilga was placed onto the pile and tied.

— "Ey misled woman!" continued Diviner "For the last time I am asking: Forsake the strange religion, that exploiting essence lodged in your heart and mind; expel that God of Ahram¹ from your tongue..."

Suddenly a deep silence fell on the korugan. Even the bitterly neighing horses quieted.

The setting sun cast an unprecedented scarlet hue on Jibilga, bathing her in heavenly beams. Standing as if chiseled out of red stone with ruby eyes, she resembled the standing statue of Umay.

— "Alp Tekin" suddenly the statue spoke "Recite the Creed, become the leader to this homeland..."

— "Ey Tengri!" screamed Alp Tekin "Why are you using my forebears' language, applauding your god in that tongue? Who can chase two preys at the same time, who was born from two mothers? Mother tongue, motherland is in this heart; could there be two hearts? Tell me Jibilga!"

Naphtha-soaked timbers roared with fire...

— "Brothers!" said Alp Tekin, addressing his loyal troops "The enemy is about to enter the korugan. We are one hundred, they, ten thousand. These raiders are aiming not at our possessions or our lives, but Tengri, and the language in our hearts and our homeland. We are about to engage in one last battle for our homeland. If we die, we shall do so showing the people that the homeland is dearer than one's own life! We are the children of the sun, we shall each die by becoming a sun!"

Alp Tekin ordered the naphtha to be brought forward. Mounting his horse, he had himself sturdily tied to the saddle. Unsheathing his sword:

— "Pour naphtha on me!" he commanded.

¹Reference is to *Ahram*, the god of evil in Zoroastrianism.

Understanding Alp Tekin's intention, the troops froze for a moment. Then, one, two, three... five... ten... one hundred of them joined him. Naphta was poured over one hundred fighters.

* * *

During the last attack of the enemy, the korugan gates were flung open, and from inside issued... bellowing riders aflame. Ah-hey; the mounts, the riders themselves and even the drawn swords, powerfully grasped, were... on fire! The horses were running with supernatural speed. The enemy was aghast. From the gates of the korugan, the riders aflame kept issuing until the one hundredth, all together charging the enemy. The horrified enemy army broke like a sheep herd facing danger, began deserting piecemeal.

At that time, Kitkan river burst through its poorly constructed temporary dam, reuniting with its previous channel, overwhelmed those ghazis who attempted to seek refuge from the riding flames in its bed.

As the tents came into contact with the riding flames, the headquarters of the enemy caught fire. Camels went mad, foaming at the mouth, without harnesses, began trampling the besieging troops who had also gone mad.

The ten thousand strong army of besieging adventurers began running away disgracefully. Gallant men who had sacrificed themselves to the sun so that the homeland could live on, kept giving chase, burned and rode, burned and rode, burned and rode...

AFTERWORD

To those familiar with history, the present Soviet "restructuring" and "openness" are perhaps reminiscent of earlier "thaws." Furthermore, it is unlikely that filling a few "blank pages," will suffice to elucidate the missing portions of the true Central Asian history. But, works such as SUN IS ALSO FIRE — if they are allowed to appear — may be deemed an appropriate precursor to true historical text writing.

H. B. P.

THE *CODEX CUMANICUS*

Peter B. Golden

I. INTRODUCTION

From the time of the appearance of the "European" Huns until the collapse of the Činggisid Khanates, the Ponto-Caspian steppe zone and as a consequence, to varying degrees, the neighboring sedentary societies, have been dominated by or compelled to interact intimately with a series of nomadic peoples. Although Scythian and Sarmatian tribes of Iranian stock had held sway here for nearly a millenium before the coming of the Huns and Iranian elements both in their own right and as substratal influences continued to have an important rule in the ethnogenesis of the peoples of this region, the majority, or at least politically dominant element, of the nomads who became masters of these rich steppelands were Turkic. In the period after the Türk conquest of western Eurasia in the late 560's, until the Činggisid invasions, the Turkic polities of the area all derived, in one form or another, from the Türk Qağanate.

Of these peoples, only the Khazars, the direct political successors of the Türks, produced a qağanate in the classical Türkic mold. The others remained essentially tribal confederations which, for a variety of reasons, did not feel the impetus to create a sturdier political entity, i.e., a state. Those that were driven from the area into sedentary or semi-sedentary zones, such as the Hungarians (a mixed Turkic and Ugrian grouping under strong Khazar influence) and parts of the Oğuz, under Seljuq leadership, did create states but along largely Christian (Hungary, Danubian Bulgaria) or Islamic (the Seljuqs) lines. These polities, whether full-blown nomadic states, such as Khazaria, or tribal unions, such as the Počenegs, Western Oğuz (Torks of the Rus' sources) or Cuman-Qıpčaq, however great their military prowess and commercial interests, have passed on little in the way of literary monuments stemming directly from them in their own tongues. Khazaria, for example, which as a genuine state had a need for literacy, has left us only documents in Hebrew,

reflecting the Judaization of the ruling elements.¹ Indeed, their language about which there are still many unanswered questions, is known, such as it is, almost exclusively from the titles and names of prominent Khazars recorded in the historical records of neighboring sedentary states.² The Balkan Bulgars who, living in close physical propinquity to and cultural contact with Byzantium and ruling over a Slavic majority to which they eventually assimilated, have left somewhat more in the way of scattered inscriptions in mixed Bulgaro-Greek (in Greek letters) and in mixed Slavo-Bulgaric.³ Their kinsmen on the Volga who adopted Islam in the 10th century, have left a number of tomb-inscriptions (dating largely from the Činggisid era, 13th-14th centuries) in a highly stylized, mixed Arabo-Bulgaric language in Arabic script. Volga Bulgaria, as an Islamic center, used, of course, Arabic as its principal language of communication with the larger world.⁴ The inscriptional material, it might be argued, bespeaks a long-standing Bulgaric literary tradition. But, in this respect, as in a number of others, Volga Bulgaria, which did form a state, in the forest-steppe zone ruling over a largely Finnic population and in which denomadization was well-advanced, was atypical.

What is interesting to note here is that unlike the Turkic peoples of Central Eurasia and Inner Asia (the Türks, Uyğurs, Qarakhanids), the western Eurasian Turkic tribes did not create significant literary monuments either in Turkic runic script, several variants of which were in use among many of them or in any of the other script systems that were available to them (Greek, Arabic, Hebrew and even Georgian).⁵ This seeming lack of literary ambition

¹On the Khazar-Hebrew documents, see F.K. Kokovcev, *Evrejsko-khazarskaja perepiska v X veke* (Leningrad, 1932) and N. Golb and O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca, 1982).

²See P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, XXXV, 1980).

³See K.H. Menges, "Altaic Elements in the Proto-Bulgarian Inscriptions" *Byzantion* XXI (1951), pp. 85-118; O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren* (Wiesbaden, 1955) and his "The Proto-Bulgarian Military Inventory Inscriptions" *Studia Turco-Hungarica*, V (1981), pp. 33-61; V. Besevliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*, (Berlin, 1963) and his *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (Amsterdam, 1980), pp. 438ff.; P.B. Golden, "Proto-Bulgarian saraktoš-on" *Studia Turco-Hungarica*, V (1981), pp. 73-77.

⁴A. Róna-Tas, S. Fodor, *Epigraphica Bulgarica* (Szeged, 1973); K. Dabrowski, T. Majchrzyk, E. Tryjarski, *Hunowie Europejscy, Protobułgarzy, Chazarowie, Pieczyngowie* (Wrocław-Warszawa, 1975), pp. 232-239; A. Temir, "Kuzey Türk edebiyatı" *Türk Dünyası El Kitabı*, I (Ankara, 1976), pp. 505-506.

⁵On the Turkic runiform scripts of western Eurasia, see A.M. Ščerbak, "Neskol'ko slov a priëmah čtenija runičeskix nadpisej najdennyx nam Donu" *Sovetskaja Arxeologija*, XIX (1954), pp. 269-282 and his "Znaki na keramike i kirpičax is Sarkela-Beloj Veži" *Materialy i Issledovanija po Arxeologii SSSR*, No. 75 (1959), pp. 367-389 and "Les inscriptions inconnues sur pierres de Khoumara (au Caucase du Nord) et le problème de l'alphabet runique des Turcs Occidentaux" *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, XV (1962), pp. 283-290; Gy. Németh, "The Runiform Inscriptions from Nagy Szent-Miklós and the Runiform Scripts of Eastern Europe" *Acta Linguistica*, 21, pp. 1-52; K. Röhrborn and W. Veenker (eds.), *Runen, Tamgas und Graffiti aus Asien und Osteuropa* (Wiesbaden, 1985).

(which may yet be disproved by archaeology) is probably to be attributed to the weak articulation of political organization among peoples such as the Pecenegs, Western Oğuz and Cuman-Qipčaq. Thus, it should come as no great surprise that one of the most significant literary monuments connected with the language of one of the dominant tribal confederations of the region, the *Codex Cumanicus*, was largely the work of non-Cumans. Before turning to the Codex itself, we must say something about the people whose language it describes.

The tangled knot of problems that revolves around the question of Cuman-Qipčaq ethnogenesis has yet to be completely unraveled. Even the name for this tribal confederation is by no means entirely clear. Western (Greek and Latin) and infrequently Rus' sources called them *Κόμανοι*, *Κούμανοι*, Comani, Cumani, Kumani. Medieval Hungarians, who had close relations with them and to whose land elements of the Cumans fled in the 13th century seeking sanctuary from the Mongols, knew them as Kun. This name is certainly to be identified with the Qūn of Islamic authors (such as al-Bīrūnī and al-Marwazī, the notices in Yāgūt and al-Bākuwī clearly derive from al-Bīrūnī¹) who, according to al-Marwazī, figured prominently in the migration of the Cuman-Qipčaq to the west. Whether the Qun are, in turn, to be associated with the (𐰽𐰺𐰍) Hun (<*γvan) = confederation is not clear.²

Old Türkic sources knew elements of what would become the Cuman-Qipčaq tribal union as Qībčaq and perhaps other names.³ The ethnonym Qībčaq was picked up by Islamic authors (e.g. in the forms Xifjāx, Qifjāq, Qipčāq etc.) and Transcaucasian sources (cf. Georgian Qivč'aq-, Armenian Xbšax). These Altaic names were loan-translated into some of the languages of their sedentary neighbors. Thus, Rus' Polovčīn, Polovci (> Polish, Czech Plauci, Hung. Palócz), Latin Pallidi, German and Germano-Latin Falones, Phalagi, Valvi, Valewen etc. Armenian Xartēš. These terms are usually viewed as renderings of Turkic qu < *gub or similar forms meaning "bleich,

¹ Al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb, at-Tafhīm*, ed. R. Wright (London, 1934), p. 145; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1957 ed.), I, p. 31; V. Minorsky, *Sharāf al-Zaman Tāhīr Marwazī on China, the Turks and India* (London, 1942), Arabic text, p. 18/Eng. p. 29-30.

² J.R. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghour à l'époque des cinq dynasties* (Paris, 1955), p. 2 and his "Toquz Oğuz et On Uyğur" *Journal Asiatique* (1962), p. 27; L. Bazin, "Recherches sur les parlers T'o-pa" *T'oung-pao*, 39 (1949-50), pp. 255-258.

³ G. Ajdarov, *Jazky orxonskix pamjatnikov drevnet jurskoj pis'menosti VIII veka* (Alma-Ata, 1971), p. 344; S.G. Klyashtorny (Kljaštornyj), "The Tes Inscription of the Uyghur Böğü Qaghan" *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, XXXIX (1981), p. 149 and his "Kipčaki v runičeskix pamjatnikax" *Turcologica*, 1986 (Leningrad, 1986), pp. 153-163.

gelblich, gelbraun, fahl."¹ A variety of sources equate them, in turn, with the Qanlı, one of the names by which the easternmost, Central Eurasian branch of the Cuman-Qipčaq confederation was known.²

These tribes included Turkic, Mongol and Iranian elements or antecedents. The inter-tribal lingua franca of the confederation, however, became a distinct dialect of Turkic that we term Qipčaq, a language reflected in several dialects in the *Codex Cumanicus*. The Cuman-Qipčaq held sway over the steppe zone stretching from the Ukraine to Central Eurasia where they constituted an important element, closely associated with the Xwārazmian royal house via marital alliances. They had equally close relations with Rus' (with whom they often warred), Georgia (where elements of them settled and Christianized³), Hungary and the Balkans where later, under Mongol auspices, the Cuman Terterids established a dynasty.

Cuman-Qipčaq hegemony extended to much of the Crimea as well. Here their interests were, in many other areas, commercial. In the pre-Cinggisid period, the Cumans took tribute from the Crimean cities. The city of Sudaq, an ancient commercial emporium, was viewed by Ibn al-ʿAṭīr (early 13th century) as the "city of the Qifjāq from which [flow] their material possessions. It is on the Khazar Sea. Ships come to it bearing clothes. The Qifjāqs buy [from] them and sell them slave-girls and slaves, Burtas furs, beaver, squirrels..."⁴ By virtue of their political hegemony, Cuman became the lingua franca of this area.⁵ It spread to the other communities resident there as well. Thus, the Crimean Armenian and Karaite Jewish communities adopted this language and preserved it for centuries afterwards in milieus far

¹See J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen* in W. Bang, J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien* (Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, N.F., XIII, 1914), pp. 27-29; Gy. Nemeth, "Die Volksname quman und qun" *Körösi Csoma Archivum*, 3 (1940), pp. 93-107; K. H. Menges, *Vostočnye élementy v "Slove o polku Igoreve"* (Leningrad, 1979), p. 73; O. Pritsak, "The Polovcians and Rus' *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, 2 (1982), pp. 321-335. Pritsak, however, connects Qipčaq, which he translates as "hollow (treeless steppe)," with E. Slav. Polovci < polovjy < pol- "open, hollow" < Op. cit., pp. 325-328).

²The Georgian *Martyrdom of David and Constantine* speaks of the "land of the Kumans, who are Qivc'aqs" (k'ueqanasa komant'a, romel arian givc'aqni), see the text in M. Biró, "Georgian Sources on the Caucasian Campaign of Heracleios" *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, XXXV (1981), p. 129; Rubruck: "Comani qui dicuntur Capchat (= Qipceaq)" and "Cangle quidam parentela Cumanorum" A. van der Wyngaert (ed.), *Sinica Franciscana, I, Itinera et relationes fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV* (Quaracchi-Firenze, 1929), pp. 194-218.

³See P. B. Golden, "Cumanica I: The Qipčaq in Georgia" *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, 4 (1984).

⁴Rubruck in Wyngaert (ed.), *Sinica Franciscana*, I, p. 170; Ibn al-ʿAṭīr, *Al-Kāmil fī 'l-Ta'rix*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leiden, 1851-1876, reprint with different pagination, Beirut, 1965-1966), XII, p. 386.

⁵D. Drüll, *Der Codex Cumanicus, Entstehung und Bedeutung* (Klett-Cotta, 1980), pp. 35, 79.

removed from the Crimea.¹ With the Mongol conquest of the Qipčaq lands completed by the late 1230's, some Qipčaq tribes (most notably those under Köten) fled to Hungary. The majority, however, were incorporated into the Mongol Empire. The pan-nomadic empire of the Türks was thus recreated on an even larger scale. The Qipčaq language, far from receding into the background, established itself as a lingua franca in the western Eurasian zone of the Činggisid state within a century of the Conquest. Thus, a Mamlūk scholar, al-'Umari (d. 1348), observed that the "Tatars," whose numbers, in any event, were not great and whose ranks already included numerous Turkic elements from Inner and Central Asia, had intermarried extensively with the local Turkic population and had, in effect, become Qipčaqicized.² In the latter half of the 13th century (beginning in the 1260's), as the Činggisid khanates began to squabble over territory, the Jočids of Saray in their struggle with the Hülegüids of Iran, found a useful ally in the Qipčaq Mamlüks of Egypt-Syria to whom they continued to supply mamlüks from their Crimean ports. The spread of Islam to the Mongols beginning with Berke (1257-1266) and culminating with Özbek (1313-1341) helped to strengthen this tie.³

¹ See J. Deny, *L'Arméno-coman et les "Ephémérides" de Kamieniec (1604-1613)* (Wiesbaden, 1957); T.I. Grunin, *Dokumenty na polovečkom jazyke XVv.* (Moskva, 1967) and the numerous studies of O. Schütz, J. Daškevič and E. Tryjarski. On Qaraim, see K.M. Musaev, *Grammatika karaimskogo jazyka* (Moskva, 1964). On the western Qipčaq languages most closely related to Cuman, see K.M. Musaev, *Leksika tjurkskix jazykov v sravnitel'nom osveščanii* (Moskva, 1975), pp. 16, 19.

² Al-'Umari, *Das mongolische Weltreich : al-'Umari's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abšār fi mamālik al-amšār*, ed. trans. K. Lech (Wiesbaden, 1965), Arabic text p. 74/Germ. trans. p. 141; V.G. Tizengauzen (Tiesenhausen), *Sbornik materialov otnosjaščixsja k istorii Zolotoj Ordj*, I (SPb., 1884), p. 235.

On the language question in the Golden Horde where Mongol, Turki (Čağatay) and Qipčaq were used as written languages, see B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde* (2nd ed. Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 285ff.; A.P. Grigor'ev, "Oficial'nyj jazyk Zolotoj Ordj XIII-XIVvv." *Tjurkologičeskij Sbornik*, 1977 (Moskva, 1981), pp. 81-89 who makes a strong case for Mongol (in Uyğur script) as the official language until 1380; see also M.A. Usmanov *Zalovannye akty Džučieva ulusa XIV-XVI* (Kazan, 1979), esp. chap. 2, who places a stronger emphasis on Turkic; I. Vásáry, *Az Arany Orda* (Budapest, 1986), pp. 283-287.

³ For an outline of these relations, see Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, pp. 44ff.; S. Zakirov, *Diplomatičeskie otnošenija Zolotoj Ordj s Egiptom* (Moskva, 1966), pp. 11ff. On Islam in the Golden Horde see Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, pp. 213-220. Zakirov (*Dipl. otnošenija*, pp. 98, 102) claims that the Mamlūk Sultans established a special translation bureau to conduct correspondence in Mongol with the khans of Saray. This view is contested by Usmanov (*Zalovannye akty*, pp. 94-101.).

II. DATING AND ORIGIN

The *Codex Cumanicus*,¹ which is presently housed in the Library of St. Mark, in Venice, Cod. Mar. Lat. DXLIX, is not one but several unrelated (except in the broadest sense) works which were ultimately combined under one cover. The *Codex* may be divided into two distinct and independent parts : I) a practical handbook of the Cuman language with glossaries in Italo-Latin, Persian and Cuman; II) a mixed collection of religious texts, linguistic data and folkloric materials (the Cuman Riddles), stemming from a number of hands, with translations into Latin and a dialect of Eastern Middle High German. It is also clear that a number of subsequent hands made contributions to both sections. Many scholars have simply termed these two, distinct works, the "Italian" part and the "German" part. This is undoubtedly true with respect to the ethno-linguistic origins or milieus of the authors. But, Ligeti is probably closer to the mark in calling the first part, the "Interpreter's Book" and the second part the "Missionaries' Book."²

The *Codex* was first mentioned in the 17th century and was believed to have come from the library of the great Italian humanist Petrarch (1304-1375). This attribution, however, has been shown to be incorrect.³ The dating and place of origin of the *Codex*'s different sections have long been in dispute. Bazin, who has closely studied the calendrical entries (CC, 72/80-81) concluded that the "Interpreter's Book" was probably composed between 1293-1295. Drüll, however, would place it as early as 1292-1295.⁴ The date found in the Venice ms. "MCCCIII die XI Iuly" (CC, 1/1) should be viewed as the date of the first copy or the beginning of the first copy.⁵ The copy preserved in the Venice ms., as an examination of the paper has demonstrated, stems

¹All citations, unless otherwise indicated, are taken from the edition of Géza Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus bibliothecae ad Templum Divi Venetiarum* (henceforth CC, Budapest, 1880) which has now been reprinted (along with an excellent introductory article by Lajos Ligeti, "Prolegomena to the *Codex Cumanicus*" (which also appeared in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, XXXV 1981, pp. 1-54) in the "Budapest Oriental Reprints", series B1 (Budapest, 1981). Citations will first give the ms. Folia and then the page(s) of Kuun's edition. Words or sentences are usually noted in transcription or as given in Kuun's edition together with the transcription used in K. Gronbeck's *Komanisches Wörterbuch* (henceforth, KWb, Copenhagen, 1942 as this work is alphabetically arranged, page numbers of citations have not been indicated) with slight modifications: The J of the KWb is rendered as y, the γ as ġ and the ġ as j (cf. peyğambar for pejjambar). A new edition of the *Codex Cumanicus* has long been an important desideratum of Turkic studies.

²Ligeti, "Prolegomena," p. 51.

³Ligeti, "Prolegomena," p. 5.

⁴Drüll, *Codex*, pp. 13-21, 26, 136. L. Bazin, *Les calendriers turcs anciens et médiévaux* (Paris, 1974), pp. 625, 631-641. See also Ligeti's cautionary comments, "Prolegomena," pp. 5-7, esp. n. 13.

⁵Drüll, *Codex*, p. 26.

from, or was at least copied, on, paper made in the mid-13th century.¹ The "Missionaries' Book" comes from a variety of sources and was put together ca. 1330-1340. Other elements were perhaps added later. The authors are unknown, although it seems likely that they were part of the Franciscan community. The German Franciscans who played an important role in the creation of the "Missionaries' Book", came from an Eastern Middle High German-speaking background. The "Interpreter's Book" was compiled by Italian men of commerce (Venetians or Genoese) or their scribes in Solxat (Eski Krim) or Kaffa (Feodosija). There is evidence to indicate that different individuals (perhaps many) were involved in preparing/translating the Persian and Cuman sections of the tri-lingual glossary. The first copy (1303), it has been suggested, was one in the monastery of St. John near Saray. The later copy which is preserved in Venice, dating to ca. 1330-1340, probably came from some Franciscan monastery. Here too, it seems likely, is where the different sections of the Codex were combined. Somehow, these various parts came again into Italian hands thus to Venice.² The work, then, is a pastiche of larger and smaller pieces which were composed/compiled with different intentions. The "Interpreter's Book" was largely, but not exclusively, practical and commercial in nature. The "Missionaries' Book," in addition to its purely linguistic goals, contains sermons, psalms and other religious texts as well as a sampling of Cuman riddles.

The Venetians and Genoese were actively involved (as well as competitors) in trade in the Crimea. This trade, as we know from contemporary accounts, such as Pegolotti, went by stages from Tana (Azov, a major unloading site for goods coming from Asia to the Crimea) to the Lower Volga (Astraxan-Saray) and thence to the Urals and Xwārazm and ultimately to China. It dealt with a wide variety of items, e.g. wax, metals (including precious metals), spices and other foodstuffs, silk and other fabrics, pelts of valuable furs etc.³ The Italian commercial colonies in the Crimea, had, of course, regular contact with Tana. There was also contact with Ilkhanid Iran via Trapezunt. Indeed, Drüll argues that the author(s) of the Latin-Persian-Cuman glossary of the "Interpreter's Book" must have been Genoese,

¹Gy. Györffy, "Autour du Cumanicus" *Analecta orientalia memoria Alexandri Csoma e Körös dicata* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, V, Budapest, 1942), pp. 110-137.

²Drüll, *Codex*, pp. 34-37, 39ff., 129, 136-137; Ligeti, "Prolegomena," pp. 7-8, 13-15, 51-52; A. Bodrogligeti, *The Persian Vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus* (henceforth PV, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, XVI, Budapest, 1971), p. 12; A. von Gabain, "Die komanische Literatur" *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, II (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 243-244; S. Çağatay, "Codex Cumanicus Sözlüğü" *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, II/5 (1944), reprinted in her *Türk Lehçeleri üzerine Denemeler* (Ankara, 1978), pp. 141-147.

³Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, trans. H. Yule in his *Cathay and the Way Thither* (Hakluyt Society, ser. 2, v. 37, III, London, 1914), pp. 152-153.

operating from Kaffa, as the Genoese were the only ones who had contact with merchants from both the Ilkhanid and Jočid realms.¹ Although the Italian merchants were not involved in the slave or mamlūk trade with Egypt, the Crimea had a long history of involvement in this activity. There is a Modern Kazakh proverb that reflects this: *ulı ırmğa, qızı Qırımğa ketti* "the son went as a hostage and the daughter went off to Crimea (i.e. to slavery)."² The trilingual glossary reflected this trade orientation and as we shall see has extensive lists of consumer goods.

III. THE LANGUAGES OF THE *CODEX CUMANICUS*

The Latin of the Codex is found in two variants, indicating the ethno-linguistic affiliations of the authors and their educational level. The Latin of the "Interpreter's Book" is a Vulgar Italo-Latin, while that of the "Missionaries' Book" is more "correct," reflecting the ecclesiastical training of its Franciscan authors.³ The Persian material has been the subject of two recent studies. Daoud Monchi-Zadeh has argued that the Persian material came through Cuman intermediaries, a kind of Cuman filter, and was translated by them.⁴ András Bodrogligeti, on the other hand, suggests that this Persian was rather a lingua franca of the Eastern trade. As a consequence, it had undergone, to varying degrees, standardization, back formation and simplification. Some words are archaic, others unusual.⁵ In short, what we see reflected is not the living language of a native speaker, but rather a kind of simplified *koine*.

The Cuman of the CC also represents some kind of lingua franca, one that was understood throughout Central Asia.⁶ This language, however, was not perfectly reflected in the CC. The latter, we must remember, was compiled by non-Turkic-speakers with varying levels of command of the language. There are a number of "incorrect" syntactical constructions as well as mistakes in grammar, phonetics and translation. Some of these are simply the result of faulty knowledge or scribal errors. Other deviations from the "norms" of

¹Drüll, Codex, pp. 79-80.

²G. Bratianu, *La mer Noire* (Munich, 1969), pp. 222-223; Ligeti, "Prolegomena," p. 27, no. 33; D. Ksibekov, *Kocovo obscestvo* (Alma-Ata, 1984), p. 71.

³Ligeti, "Prolegomena," p. 41.

⁴D. Monchi-Zadeh, *Das Persische im Codex Cumanicus* (Uppsala, 1969), pp. 13ff.

⁵Bodrogligeti, PV, pp. 16, 23, 93, 98-101. Ligeti, "Prolegomena," pp. 30, 38-39, on the other hand, believes that it was based on a living, non-standard dialect of Persian which was at the same time a lingua franca.

⁶The Franciscan monk de Vittoria noted in 1338 that "Cuman is a language understood throughout Central Asia, as far as China, and is written in Uyğur letters," cited in Çağatay, "Codex Cumanicus Sözlüğü," p. 144.

Turkic are probably to be attributed to the word for word, literal translations.¹ These types of translations in the Middle Ages, were well-known, especially when translating sacred, religious texts.² Thus, in Karaïm, one of the closest linguistic relatives of the Cuman mirrored in the CC, we find sentences such as: *kiši edi yerind'a Učnun, Iyov šemi anın, a edi ol kiši ol t'üg'äl da t'üz, qorxuvcu t'emrid'än* ("There was a man in the Land of Uz whose name was Job and that man was perfect and upright and one that feared God," Job, 1)³, a word for word rendering of the Hebrew. Some of the forms which have an "unturkic" character about them may almost certainly be attributed to the influence of the compilers' native Italian/Italo-Latin and German. Many of these forms, however, are ambiguous in origin as similar phenomena can be found in other Turkic languages as well⁴ and may here also reflect the influence of Indo-European languages.

Of greater interest is the fact, hardly unexpected in a work in which so many different hands were involved that the CC lexical material is comprised of several Qıpčaq dialects. Some of these can be must clearly seen in the different sections:

"Interpreter's Book"	Missionaries Book"	
kendi	kensi	"self"
tizgi	tiz	"knee"
bitik	bitiv	"book, writing"
berkit-	berk et-	"to strengthen"
ipek	yibek	"silk"
ekki	eki	"two"
todaq	totaq	"lip"
etmek	ötmek	"bread"
yağ	yav	"fat"
tağ	tav	"mountain"
küyegü	küyöv	"bridegroom"
igit	yegit	"youth"
sag	sav	"healthy"
abuşqa	abışqa	"old, aged"
gadaq	xadaq	"nail"
ağırta-	avurla-	"to honor" ⁵

¹Vi. Drimba, *Syntaxe Comane* (Bucharest-Leiden, 1973), p. 184.

²Cf. J. Eckmann, *Middle Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Interlinear Koran Translation* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, XXI, Budapest, 1976), p. 14.

³T. Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki* (Krakow, 1929), p. 1.

⁴Drimba, *Syntaxe comane*, pp. 185-187.

⁵See Grønbech, *KWb*, pp. 9-11; Çağatay, "Codex Cumanicus Sözlüğü," p. 148; Ligeti, "Prolegomena," pp. 20-24.

In some instances, one of the sections indicates several dialects, e.g. "Interpreter's Book" (CC, 53/57, 57/61) Lat. *similo* Pers. *chomana mecunem* (*homānā m-kunām* "I resemble"¹) Cum. *oscarmen* (*ošgarmen*), (CC, 76/86) Lat. *similtudo* Pers. *manenda* Cum. *oasamac* (or *oasamac* which Grønbech reads as *oqšamaq*) and the "Missionaries' Book" (CC, 141/199) *ovsadi* (*ovšadi* "resembled, was like"), (CC, 162/226) *ovsar* (*ovšar*) "enlich;" (CC, 131/183) *job sāngāncā* (*yöpsengenca*) "sin quod tu approbas," (CC, 140/195), *iopsinip* (*yöpsinip*) : *yöpsen-/ yöpsin-* "billigen, genehmigen, gutheissen."

The well-known shift in Qipčaq *ğ > w/v* is clearly indicated in the "Missionaries' Book." The latter also has greater evidence of the *q > x* shift (e.g. *yogsul > yoxsul* "arm, mettellos"). The "Interpreter's Book" appears to represent an older or more conservative dialect.

We may also note that whereas the "Missionaries Book" clearly renders *j* with *g* in non-Turkic words, e.g. *gahan* = *jahan* "Welt," *gan* = *jan* "Seele," *gomard* = *jomard* "freigebig" (all borrowings from Persian), the "Interpreter's Book" renders this with *j* or *y*. This might indicate a pronunciation with *y* (although the Persian forms with *j* are also regularly rendered with *i*), cf. *Jaghan* = *jahan*, *jomard*, *jomart* = *yomard* or *jomard*, *joap* = *yowap* or *jawap* (< Ar. *Jawāb* "answer") and *yanauar* = *yanawar* or *janawar*. This shift in initial *j > y* is known to some Qipčaq dialects, especially in loan-words, cf. Baškir *yawap* "answer," *yemeyät* "society, community" (Ar. *jam'iyat*), *yihan* "universe" (Pers. *Jihan*, *jahan*).²

Finally, we might note that intervocalic *v/w* which Grønbech regularly transcribes as *v*, may just as easily represent *w*, e.g. (CC, 65/72) *youac*, *yovač* or *yowač* "opposite," (CC, 102/121) *culğau* = *čulğav* or *čulğaw* "foot-wrappings," (CC, 90/105) *carauas* = *garavaš* or *garawaš* "maid, slave," (CC, 139/192) *koat* = *govat* or *gowat* (< Arab. *quwwat*) "might" (CC, 109, 113/130, 134) *tauc*, *taoh* = *tavuuq* or *tawuq*, *tavox* or *tawox* "hen."

The numerous orthographic peculiarities — e.g. *š* is transcribed by *s*, *š*, *z*, *x*, *sch*, thus *baš* "head" in the "Interpreter's Book" is rendered as (CC, 29, 86, 94, /30, 99, 109) *baš*, *bax* and in the "Missionaries Book" (CC, 121, 126, 128/161, 171, 175) as *baš*, *basch*, *baz*; *bašqa* "other (than)" is in the "Interpreter's Book" (CC, 64/70) *bascha* and in the "Missionaries' Book"

¹Bodrogligeti, PV, p. 141.

²E.F. Isberdin, *Istoričeskoe razvitiie leksiki baskirskogo jazyka* (Moskva, 1986), p. 120.

(CC, 121, 123, 138/158, 163, 189) *baska, baschka, bazka* — clearly indicate that there were many contributors to the CC and little attempt was made at regularization. This, of course, makes many readings conditional.

IV. CONTENTS OF THE CODEX CUMANICUS

The "Interpreter's Book" consists of 110 pages (CC, 1-110/1-131). Pages 1-58/1-63 contain a series of alphabetically arranged (by Latin) verbs in Latin, Persian and Cuman. The first entry is audio. A sampling of some of the forms is given below¹: audio "I hear" *mesnoem* (*mésnowäm*) *eziturmen* (*ešitürmen*), *audimus* "we hear" *mesnam* (*m<šnovīm*) *esiturbis* (*ešitürbiz*), *audiebam* "I was hearing" *mesin* (.) *dem* (*m<šnīdām*) *esituredim* (*ešitüredim*), *audiebant* "they were hearing" *mesinident* (*m<šinīdānt*) *esiturlaredj* (*ešitürlaredi*), *audiui* "I heard". *sinide* (= *šinīdām*) *esitum* (*ešitüm*), *audiueratis* "you had heard" *sindabudit* (*šinada būdit*) *esitungusedi* (*ešitüngüzedi*), *audiam* "I will hear" *bisnoem* (*bišnowäm*) *esitqaymen* (*ešitqaymen* or *ešitkeymen*), *audiemus* "we will hear" *besnoym* (*bešnowīm*) *ešitqaybiz/ešitkeybiz*, *audi* "hear!" *bisno* (*bišnō*) *esit* (*ešit*), *audirem* "were I to hear" *ysalla mes(i)nde* (*išällä m<šinīdām* "if I should only hear") *chescha ešitkaedim* (*keške ešitgayedim/ešitkeyedim*) *audiuisse(m)* "If had heard" *y sinada budim* (*išällä šina budīm* "if I had only heard") *c ešitmiš bolgayedim* (*keške ešitmiš bolgayedim*), *audiam* "if I should hear" *y besnoem* (*išällä bešnowäm* "if should only hear") *c ešitchaymen* (*keške ešitqaymen/ešitkeymen* "would that I hear"), *audire(m)* "were I to hear" *zonchi mesni(m)* (*čonki mešinīdām* "since I hear") *ešittim essa* (*ešittim ese*), *audires* "were you to hear" *z mesnidi* (*čonki m<šinīdī* "since you hear" *nezic chi esiti(n)* *gassa* (*nečik ki ešiting ese* "lorsque tu as entendu"², *audiueim* (= *audiverim*) "were I to have heard" *z s(.).ndidem* (*čonki šinīdām* "since I heard") *ešittim ersa* (*ešittim erse*), *audire* "to listen" *sanadae(n)* (*šanadän*) *ešitmaga*, *yzitmaga* (*ešitmege*, *išitmege*), *audiens* "one who hears, hearer" *sanoenda* (*šanowändä* "he who hears") *esattan* (for *esatgan* = *ešitgen*), *auditurus* "one who will hear, is about to hear" *ghoet sinidän* (*xōhāt sinidan* "he who wants to hear") *ešitmaga cuyga* (*ešitmege küyge* "one who expects to hear").

¹The reconstructed Persian forms are taken from Bodrogligeti, *PV*, pp. 83-89.

²Drimba, *Syntaxe comane*, p. 165.

No other verb is given such detailed treatment. Most have 3-5 entries, e.g. (CC, 5/6) *adiuuo* "I help" *yari medehem* (*yāri m-dehām*) *boluzurmen* (*boluṣurmen*), *adiuuauī* "I helped" *yari dadem* (*yāri dādām*) *boluṣtum* (*boluṣtum*), *adiuuā* "help!" *yari bide* (*yāri bideh*) *boluṣ* (*boluṣ*) *adiutorium* "help, aid" *yari* (*yāri*) *bolusmac* (*boluṣmaq*).

Some Latin terms are translated by two verbs in Cuman, eg. (CC, 6/7) *albergo hospito* "I lodge" *ghana cabul mecunem* (*xāna qabūl m-kunām*) *conaclarmen vel condururmen* (*qonaqlarmen or qondururmen*, (CC, 9/10) *balneo aliquid* "bathe something" *tarmecunem* (*tar m-kunām*) "I wet" *us etarmen vel iunurmen* (*us etermen or yuvunurmen*). In a number of instances, we are given deverbal nouns as well as the verbs, e.g. (CC, 12/13) *coquo* "I cook" *mepaxem* (*mepāzām*) *bisuturmen* (*biṣütürmen*) *coqui* "I cooked" *pohten* (*poxtām*) *bisurdum* (*bisürdüm*) *coque* "cook!" *bepoh* (*bepox*) *bisur* (*bisür*) *motbahi* (*moṭbaxī*) *begerzi* (*bağırçı < bağır* "copper," cf. Nogay *bağırşı bala* "junoša obsluživajuščij ljudej v roli povara u kotla iz medi"¹) *conquīna* "kitchen" *muthagh* (= *muṭbax* "kitchen") as *bisurgan eu* (*aṣ biṣürgen ew* (lit. "house where food is cooked"). Compound Verbs (henceforth, unless needed to further explicate the Cuman forms, the Persian entries will be omitted and the Cuman forms will be given only in transcription): *yük tüṣürürmen* "I unload," *tuṇundan kečermen* "I despair," (CC, 19/21) *eligo* "I pick, I choose" *köngül içinde ayturmen* "say what is in my heart," *eygirek etermen* "I make better," (CC, 35/37, *nauigo* "I sail" *dar driyā m-rowām* "I go on the sea") *tengizda yürürmen* ("I go on the sea"), *qulluq etermen* "I serve."

Compound Verbs with Arabic Elements are fairly well represented. The Arabic element does not always correspond to that found in similar compound verbs in the Persian entries : (CC, 20/21) *denpingo* (sic) "I paint" *naqṣ m-kunām naqṣlarmen* (< *naqṣ* "painting"), (CC, 23/25) *expendo* "I spend" *xarj m-kunām, xarj etermen* etc. But, cf. (CC, 44/47-48) *quito* "I quit" *rahā m-kunām tafṣ etermen* < Arab. *tafṣ* "flight, run away, escape").

Compound Verbs with Persian Elements. In many instances it may be presumed that the Arabic elements entered Cuman via Persian. The words considered here are only those that are etymologically Persian. (CC, 23/26) *estimo* "I estimate, value" *bahā mekunām* "I consider the value" *bacha ussurmen* (*baha usurmen* "I consider the value," KWb., p. 266 reads it as *baha ur-* "schätzen bewerten," < *paha* "price." (CC, 42/454) *penito* "I repent" *peṣmānām, peṣmān bolurmen* < *peṣmān* "penitent."

¹A.K. Kuryšžanov, *Issledovanie po leksike "Tjurko-arabskogo slovarja"* (Alma-Ata, 1930), p. 91.

The verb "to have" is expressed using three different forms: (CC, 29/30-313) *habeo* "I have" *mende bar*, *habui* "I had" *tegdi* (< *teg*- "treffen, berühren, erreichen, gelangen, zuteil werden") *habeas* "you have!" *dar* "have!" *sağa/sanga bolsun* "may you have!"

Adverbs. The section of verbs is followed (CC, 59-65/64-72) by one on adverbs (many of which are expressed by postpositioned forms), e.g. (CC, 54/61) *ante* "before" *eng borun* or *ilgeri ab* "from" *idan*, *apui* "at, near, by, with" *qatında* (< *gat* "Seite, der Raum neben oder bei etwas"), *brevitur* "soon" *terklep*, *bene* "good, well" *yaqşı* or *eygi*, *benigne* "benignly, heartily" *xoş köngül bile* ("with a good heart"), *com* "with" *birle*, *bile*, (CC, 61/66) *hodie* "today" *bu kün*, (CC, 61/67) *ideo* "on that account, therefore" *anung üčün*, *jam* "now, already" *saat digan* "immediately" *bir anča* or *imdi*, (CC, 62/68) *multum* "much" *köp*, *malicioxe* "maliciously" knavishly, wickedly" *yaman köngül bile*, *non* "no" *yoq*, *nihil* "nothing" *hečneme-tağı*, (CC, 62/69) *postea* "afterwards" *songra* (CC, 63/70) *quid* "what?" *ne*, (CC, 64/70) *sane* "healthily" *sağlıq bile*.

Personal Pronouns (CC, 66-68/72-74) follow the listing of adverbs; examples are : *ego* "I" *men*, *mei* "of me" *mening*, *michi* "to me" *manga*, *me* "me" *meni*, *ame* "from me" *menden*, *nos* "we" *biz* etc. (CC, 68/74) *ipse met* "himself" *anlar ox* (*anlar öz?*) "they themselves." This same section contains a series of indeclinable nouns, e.g.: *alius* "other (than)" *özge*, (CC, 69/74) *omnis* "all" *tegme* or *barča*, *solus* "alone" *yalğuz*, *talis* "of such a kind, such" *falan*, *qualis* "of what kind?" *gaysi* and basic adjectives, e.g.: *ulu* "big," *kiči* "little," *yaqşı* or *eygi* "good," *yaman* "bad," *yüngül* "light," *ağır* "heavy."

Vocabulary Pertaining to Religion (CC, 70/77): *Tengri* "God," *Maryam qaton* "The Queen (Virgin) Mary" *mater dey*, *frište* "angel," *peygambar* "prophet," *arı*, *algışlı* "holy, saint" *santus*, *xac* "cross," *bapas* "priest," *töre* "law," *yarlığamaq* "mercy," *bazlıq* "peace," *tengri sövmekligü* "love of God" (*caritas, dostī-i xudā*).

The Elements (CC, 71/78-79): *hawa* "wind" and *salqon* "wind" (cf. Mong. *salkin* "wind" and Old Turkic *salqın* "cold, hoar-frost," Siberian Turkic *salqın* "violent (cold) wind"¹, *su* "water," *yer* "earth, land," *ot* "fire."

¹Sir G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (henceforth Clauson, *ED*, Oxford, 1972), p. 826.

Humours of the body (CC, 71/79): *qan* "blood," *balġam* "phlegm" (<Ar. <Gr.), *qursaq* "stomach," *sari* "qall, bile" (lit. "yellow," cf. Pers. *safrā* (<Ar. *safrā* "yellow"), *saudā* "melancholy" (cf. Pers. *saudā* < Ar. *saudā* "the black [bile]").

Terms Relating to Time (CC, 71-72/78-81): *yıl* "year," *ay* "moon, month," *kün* "day," *keče* or *tün* "night," etc. This fairly full section contains a list of the days of the week (largely deriving from Pers.) and the months of the year: *tu-šanbe* (<Pers.) "Monday," *se-šanbe* (<Pers.) "Tuesday," *čaaršanbe* (< Pers.) "Wednesday," *pan-šanbe* (< Pers.) "Thursday," *ayna* (<Iran. *a'ina*) "Friday," *šabat kün* "Saturday," (*šabat* ultimately derives from Hebrew *šabbat*. It is also found in Qaraïm (*šabat kün*, hardly there), Armeno-Coman (*šapat' k'un*) and Qaračay-Balqar (*šabat kün*), all Western Qipčaq languages deriving from Cuman. This culture-word also entered into Čuvaš (*šāmat*, *šāmat kün*) and Volga Finnic (Čeremis/Mari *šumat* Votyak/Udmurt *šumot*, perhaps from Volga Bulgaric). In all instances, the ultimate source for this word in Turkic was most probably Khazar.¹ *ye-sanbe* "Sunday," *aybaşı* "first day of the month," *kalendas*. The Cuman calendar is given below, together with the Latin and Perso-Islamic equivalents:

Januarius	safar	safar ay
februarius	rabi awal	söwünč ay
martius	rabioläxer	ilyaz ay
aprilis	jim<di-awal	tob(a) ay
madius	jim<di-al äxel	songu yaz ay
junius	rejb	küz ay
julius	ša'bän	orta küz ay
augustus	ramađän	song küz ay
september	šaugal (šawwāl)	giš ay
october	zilġa'da	orta qiš ay
november	dilüjja	qurban bayram ay
december	muħaram	azuq ay

The Five Senses (UC, 72/81): *körmek* "sight," *ešitmek* "hearing," *tatmaq* "taste," *ıylamaq* "smell," *tutmaq* "touch."

Other Terms relating to Time, the Seasons, Direction, Orientation (CC, 73/81-82) : *kün towušt* "East," *kün batısı* "West," *yarix*, *yariq* "clear, bright," *bulud* "cloud" (for *nobiloxum* "cloudy") etc.

¹P.B. Golden, "Khazaria and Judaism" *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, 3 (1983), pp. 153-154.

Opposites (CC, 73-74/83-84): *jift* "like, pair," *par*, *hamtā*, *taq* "unalike," *b-hamtā*, *dispar*, *bütün* "whole," *snuq* "broken," *tatli* "sweet," *ači* "bitter," *šišmiš* "swollen," *šişik ketken* "the swelling has gone" (cf. Pers. *āmāh raft* "it went down").

Qualities of Things (CC, 75-77/85-88): *eygilik* "goodness." Sometimes these are given in pairs of opposites, e.g. *yaqši* or *eygi* "good," *yaman* "bad," *körklü* "beautiful," *körksöz* "ugly," *uzun* "long," *qisqa* "short," *igir* "young, youth," *abuşqa* or *qart* "old," *tiri* "alive," *ölü* "dead."

Things of the Everyday World (CC, 78-79/88-90): *Jahan* "world," *tengiz* "sea," *tag* "mountain," *yol* "road," *tos/toz* "dust, powder," *terek* (Old Turkic "poplar," in Qipčaq it has come to mean "tree" in general¹, *yemiš* "fruit," *ša(h)ar* or *kent* "city," *gala/galaa* "fort, castle," *xala* "village," *saray* "palace," *ev/ew* "house," *kebit* or *tugan* "shop," *köprü* "bridge."

Business, Names of Articles of Trade and Things Pertaining to Them (CC, 80/90-91): *saraf* "banker," *tarazu* "scales," *bitik* or *taftar* (cartularius "ledger book, calendar," *taqwim* "calendar"), *naqt* or *aqča* "money," *borčlular* "debtors," *bitik* "letter," (*litera*, *xat*) etc.

These are followed by several lengthy lists of Articles of Trade and Handicraft (CC, 80-86/91-99) and the professionals involved in them. Many of the terms are "international" in character, often of Indic origin via Persian and Arabic: *atar* (< Arab. *ʾaṭṭār*) "spice-merchant," *čömlek* "cooking pot," *šakar/šeker* "sugar" (< Middle Iran. *šakar* < Sanscrit *sárkarā*²), *bal* "honey," *burč* "pepper," (< Sanscrit *marica* via Iranian³ *jinjibil* "ginger" (< Arab. *zinzibil* < Sanscrit *srīnggavera*), *darčini* "cinnamon" (< Pers.), *nīl* "indigo" (< Pers. *nīl* < Sanscrit *nīlī*), *gondroq* "incense" (< Pers. *kundurak* "mastic" < *kundur* < Gr. *χόνδρος*) *baqam* "brazilwood" (< *baqqam*), *tutiya* "tutty, zinc" (< Arab. *tutiya* < Sanscrit *tuttha*), etc. *oğlanlar* "servants," *otlar* "herbs," *maajunlar* "powdered medicines, electuaries" (< Arab. *maʾjūn*), *altuncı* "goldsmith," *temirči* "blacksmith," *čaquč* [čekič] "hammer," *temir* "iron," *kümiš* "silver," *altun* "gold," *baqir* "copper," *galaj*, *aq qorğasın* "tin," *qorğasın* "lead" (< Mong. *qorgaljin* ⁴), *kömür* "coal," *küre* "furnace, forge,"

¹Clauson, *ED*, p. 543.

²M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkssprachen* (Helsinki, 1969), p. 444.

³Clauson, *ED*, p. 77.

⁴Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 282.

tonci "furrier" (<Saka *thauna* "clothing"¹) *igine* "needle," *bičqi* "saw," *oymaq* "thimble," *ip* "thread," *tülkü* "fox," *teyin* "squirrel," *qara teyin* "grey squirrel," *kiš* "sable," *silevsün* (<Mong. *silegüsün*), *teri ton* "fur coat," *derzi* (<Pers.), *čekmen* "woolen clothing," *qıptı* "sheers," *arsun, qarı* "yard," *töšek* "mattress, cushion," *etikçi* "shoemaker," *başmaq* "shoe," *balta* "axe," *burav* "augur," *ütürgü* "chisel," *toqmaq* "mallet" etc.

Barbering and Related Equipment (CC, 86-87/100): *yülüçi* "barber," *yülingüç* "razor," *saqal* "beard," *küzgü* "mirror," *tas* "barber's basin," *süngülçe* "lancet," *bilev* "whetstone," *ot, malahan* (<Pers. *malaham* < Arab. *marham*) "salve."

Professions (CC, 87-90/100-104): *qlič ostası* "sword-maker," *eyerçi* "saddle-maker," *yügençi* "bridge-maker," *otaçi* "medical doctor (physician and surgeon)," *xökümçi* (Arab. *üukm*) "lawyer," *siqriq* "courier," *yalçi* "pommel-maker," *astlançi* "middleman, broker," *talal, miyançi* (<Arab. Pers.) "broker," *börk(k)çi* "hat-maker," *naqşlağan* (Arab. *naqš*) "painter," *qulluqçi* "servant," *julaxak* (<Pers. Jullāhak) "weaver," *yaqçi* "bow-maker," *qobuzçi* "musician," *biirik ostası* "Magister Scholarum," etc. To this list various words were added: *etmek* "bread," *urluq* "seed," *tüb* "root," *olturğuclar* "seats," *iş* "work," *küç* "labor" etc.

Political Titles, Offices and Related Terms (CC, 90/104-105): *qan* "emperor," *soltan* (<Arab.) "king," *beg* "prince," *bey* "baron (*amir*)," *čeribaşı* "army leader," *elçi* "envoy," *yarguçı* "judge (*protestas, šāna* <Arab. *šāūna* "prefect"), *šeriyat* (<Arab. *šar'iyyah* "Islamic law") "judge" (consul, *qādi*), *boğavul/boğawul* "servant of the court, Gerichtsdienier" (*placeries, tatawul*) < Mong. *baqawul* (see below), *atlu kiši* "mounted soldier," *qan qatunı* "empress," *evdegi/cwdegi epçi* "female servant," *tilmaç* "translator", etc.

Things Pertaining to the Bazar, Merchandise (CC, 91-92/105-108): *bazargan* "merchant," *satıq* "trade," *alıçı* "buyer," *satuğçı/satuqçi* "seller," *behet* (<Arab. *bai'at* "commercial transaction?") "deposit, down payment," *tölemek* "payment," *naqt* (Arab. *naqd*) "money," *kendir* "hemp," *üsküli* "flax," *fanar* (<Gr.) "lantern," *qoz* "nut," *čuz* "light taffeta," *ügü yungı* "owl feather (brush ?)," *balıq* "fish," *brinč* "rice," *ipek* "silk," *frangi suf* "Western wool, bolting cloth," *isqarlut* (Middle Latin *scarlata* <Arab. Pers. *saqallāt*) "scarlet," *kövrük* "sulphur," *jonban ketan* "linen of Champagne," *Rusi ketan* "linen of Rus'," *alamani ketan* "German linen," *orlens ketan* "linen of Orleans," etc.

¹This long-held etymology is doubted, however, by Clauson, *ED*, p. 512.

Colors (CC, 92-93/107-108): *aq* "white," *qara* "black," *qızıl* "red," *qırmızı* "crimson," *kök* "blue," *sari* "yellow," *yaşıl* "green," *ipkin* "violet," etc.

Precious Stones (CC, 93/108=109): *yaqut* (<Arab.) "ruby," *laal* (<Arab.) "ruby of Badakhshan," *kabut, yapqut* "sapphire," *zumurrud* (probably for *zumrut, zumurut*, < Pers. Arab. *zumurrud* < Gr. *αμδάυδοζ*) "emerald," *yalmas* (<Pers. *almas* < Gr. *ἀδάμας*) "diamond," *ingčü* (< Chin.¹) "pearl," etc.

The Human Being, Parts of the Body (CC, 94-96/109-113): *azam* (< Ara. *ādam*), *kiši* "man, human being," *epči* "woman," *baş* "head" *elat* (<Arab. *axlāt*) "humors," *alin, manglay* (< Mon.) "forehead," *qaš* "eye-brow," *kirpik* "eyelid," *qulaq/qulax* "ear," *köz* "eye," *köz yaruxı* "light of the eye," *burun/burin* "nose," *yangaq* "cheek," *tiš* "tooth," *til* "tongue," *qursaq* "stomach," *köngül* "heart," *ičex, sucux* "gut, intestine," *teri* "skin," *sik* "penis," *tašaq* "testicles," *am* "vulva," *köt* "anus," *gol* "arm," *qoymıç* "coccyx," *tamar* "vein," *qan* "blood," *el, qol* "hand," *barmaq* "finger," *ayaq* "foot," *tin* "soul," etc.

The Family, Relatives (CC, 97/113-115): *at(t)a* "father," *anna* "mother," *er* "husband," *epči* "wife," *oğul* "son," *giz* "daughter," *qarandaš* "brother," *qiz qarandaš* "sister," *ul(l)u at(t)a* "grandfather," *qayın* "father-in-law," *küyegü* "son-in-law," *abağa* "uncle" (< Mong.), *ini* "nephew," *ortaq, nöger* (< Mong.), "friend, comrade," *qonši* "neighbor," etc.

Good Qualities of People (CC, 97-98/115-116): *tükel* "complete, whole," *yaqši, eygi* "good," *barlu kiši* "wealthy," *ustlu, aqıl* (<Arab.) "intelligent," *körklü* "pretty, handsome," *könü* "legal, lawful," *xalal oğul* "legitimate son," *özden* "noble, free," *erdemli* "virtuous," *küçlü* "strong," *tanur kiši* "experienced person," *söver kiši* "amiable person," *erseksiz* "chaste," *qılıqlı* "honest," etc.

Human Defects (CC, 8-99/116-117): *yaman* "bad," *yarlı, yoqsul* "poor," *qart, abuşqa* "old (person)," *teli, aqmaq* (<Arab. *aümad*) "insane, stupid," *soqur, čališ* "squint-eyed," *közsiz, kör* "blind," *tövlük* "blind," *küniden towğan* "illegitimately born, bastard," *aqsax* "lame," *tašaqsız* "castrated," *qaltaq* "pander, procurer," *qulaqsız* "deaf," *tilsiz* "mute," *ötrükçi* "liar," *yazuqlu* "sinful," *egri kisi* "false person," etc.

¹See Clauson, *ED*, pp. 944-945; Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 203.

Things Pertaining to War (CC, 100/118): *čeri* "army," *sančis* "war," *sağıt* (<?) "arms," *şırdaq* (cf. Mong. *siri-deg* "gestepte Filzdecke saddlepad," *siri-* "to quilt, stitch"¹ "coat." *tovulğa/towulğa* "helmet," *kübe* "coat of mail," *bütülik* "cuirass," *qlıč* "sword," *bičaq* "knife," etc.

Things Pertaining to the Home (CC, 100/119): *izba* (E. Slav.) "room," *boxorik* (<Pers.) "oven," *yuzaq* "lock," *ačquč* "key," *qadav/qadaw* "nail," *oturğuč* "seat," etc.

Things Pertaining to Sewing and Clothing (CC, 101/11): *opraq* "clothing," *teri ton* "fur clothing," *tüvme/tüwme* "button," *yeng* "sleeve," etc.

Things Pertaining to Construction (CC, 101-102/119-120): *tüb* "fundament," *taş* "stone," *kireč* "lime-stone," *qum* "sand," *su* "water," *taqta*, *qanga* "floor," *tık ağaç* "column," *kerpič* "baked brick," *ağınğuč* "ladder," etc.

Sundry Articles of Attire and Travel Gear (CC, 101-102/120-121): *kövlek/köwlek* "shirt," *könček* "trousers," *qur*, *beli-gab* "belt," *yančiq* "purse," *kepex*, *börk* "hat," *calma* "turban," *etik* "book," *başmaq* "shoe," *tizge* "garter," *artmaq* "saddlebag," *yasman* "flask," *čatir* "tent," *qamčı* "whip," *araba* "wagon, coach, coach," etc.

Things Pertaining to the Horse (CC, 102-103/121-122): *at* "horse," *naal* (<Arab.) "horse-shoe," *ayran* "stall," *eyer yaboği* "saddle-blanket," *tizgin* "reins," *ağuzluq* "bit," *üzengi* "stirrup," *kömüldrük* "pectoralis" *yingırčaq* "pack-saddle," etc.

Things Pertaining to the Bedroom (CC, 103-104/123): *töšek* "couch, bed," *töšekning ayagi* "tripod," *yastuq* "pillow," *yorğan* "blanket," *kilim* "rug," *ğali/qalı*, *kövüz/köwüz* "carpet," *köšegen* "bed-curtains," etc.

Things Pertaining to the Table (CC, 104-123-124): *tastar*, *sarpan* "table cloth," *yultrin*, *šiše* (<Pers.) "bottle," *piyala* (<Pers.) "goblet, cup," *bardaq* "pitcher, mug," *čiraqlıq* "candelabrum," *aş* "food," etc.

¹Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 448, Lessing, p. 717.

Things Pertaining to the Kitchen (CC, 104-105/124-125) *qazan* "pot," *čömič* "ladle," *qasua* "spoon," *čömlet/čömlek* "cooking pot," *yağlav/yağlaw* "frying pan," *qavurqinal/qawurqina* "kind of frying pan" (*tianus, tāwā*), *tütün* "smoke," *yırğaq* "hook," *tepsi* (< Middle Chin. **dep tsi*¹).

Trees and Fruits (CC, 105-106/125-126): *terek* "tree," *butaq* "branch," *yabuldraq* "leaf," *ağaç* "wood," *köleğe* "shadow," *yemiš* "fruit," *kiras* "cherry" (<Gr.), *armat* (<Pers.), *kertme* "pear," *alma* "apple," *čatlavuaq/čatlawaq* "hazel-nut," *qoz* "nut," *šaftalu* (<Pers.) "peach," *erik* "plum," *limon* (cf. Ital. limone <Arab. Pers. *laymūn*) "lemon," *pistaq* (<Gr. *πιστάκι*(ν) "pistachio," *qovun* "melon," etc.

Herbs and Vegetables (CC, 106-107/126-127): *sadaf* (<Pers.) "rue," *yışqıç* "mint," *ispanaq* (< Pers. <Gr.) "spinach," *marul* (<Gr.) "lettuce," *qabua* "rind, crust, bark," *čügünür* "carrot," etc.

Names of Animals (CC, 107-108/127-129): *janavar* "beast, animal" (Pers.), *at* "horse," *astlan* "lion," *qıstraq* "mare," *qatir* "mule," *ešek* "donkey," *tonguz* "pig," *keyik tonguz* "wild boar," *öküz, sığır* "ox," *inek* "cow," *buzav/ buzaw* "calf," *tiši qoy* "female sheep," *qočqar* "ram," *qozı* "lamb," *ečke* "goat," *it* "dog," *maci* "cat," *pil* (<Pers.) "elephant," *sazağan* "dragon," *ayu* "bear," *qoyan* "hare," *börü* "wolf," *sičqan* "mouse," *boga* "bull," etc.

Names of Reptiles, Vermin and Insects (CC, 108-109/129): *qurt* "worm," *sazağan* "snake," *yılan* "snake," *čibin* "fly," *büt* "flea," *qanala* (<?) "bug."

Names of Birds (CC, 109/12-130): *čipčiq* "bird," *garaquš* "eagle," *balaban* "falcon," *qarčitğa* "hawk," *qırqıy* "sparrow-hawk," *turna* "crow," *yabalaq* "screech-owl" *sığırçıq* "dove" (?) etc.

Grains, Dairy Products and other Comestibles (CC, 110-130-131): *boday, boğday* "Wheat," *arpa* "barley," *tuturğan, brinč* "rice," *marjumak* (<Pers.) "lentils," *birčaq* "vegetables," *un* "flour," *süt* "sweet milk" (lac dulce, šır), *yoğurt* "sourmilk" (lac acer, mäst), *köptelük* "a dish a flour and meat" (granum marcengum, koptaluk) etc.

¹Clauson, *ED*, pp. 445-446.

The Missionaries' Book (CC, 111-164/132-235) consists of several very different sections or parts from undoubtedly a number of authors. A strong impression is left that this is hardly a finished work, but rather one that may have been still in progress at the time in which our copy was made. It contains a variety of vocabulary listings (not in alphabetical order), grammatical notes, a conjugation of the verb *anglarmen* "intelligo" (CC, 129-134/177-180), a section of Cuman riddles, a number of religious texts and a scattering of Italian verses. It begins with the verbs *seskenirmen*, *elgenirmen* "ich ischrake" (= Eastern Middle High German trans.) and several other verbs and phrases, e.g. *yıtı bičağ* "eyn scharf messier," *satov etermen* "ich kouflage," *yöp yöp ulu bolur* "is wirty y lengir y grossir." Some of the phrases are translated into both East Middle High German and Latin, e.g. *it üredir* "d' hunt billit, canis latrat." *it uğrayadır* "d'hunt gru(n)czet," *qoy mangradır* "ouis balat," *kıši inçqaydır* "d' menche brehtit (Grøbech, KWb., p. 273 reads this as "der mensche krøHeit"), *uçamda yaturmen* "ich lege uf dem rucke," etc. Without any preamble there is on CC, 117/141 a brief religious text that begins with: *bilge tetik kişiler benim sözüm eştingler, eki yolnu ayırlar* ("Wise and intelligent persons, listen to my words, distinguish between two paths..."). Given the fragmented and highly variegated nature of these texts, we will not follow, as we have thus far, a page by page analysis, but rather will excerpt texts and sections that best illustrate the character of the whole.

The Cuman Riddles (CC, 119-120/143-148) are a very important early source for Turkic folklore. Indeed, they represent the oldest documented material that we have for Turkic riddles. They are, as Andreas Tietze has remarked in his excellent study "early variants of riddle types that constitute a common heritage of the Turkic-speaking nations."¹ Some of the riddles have clear, virtually identical modern equivalents, e.g.: (CC, 119/144): *kecak ut (a) hi kegede semirrir. Ol huun*, which Tietze reads as: *kökce ulaxım kögönde semirir. Ol xowun* "my bluish kid (tied) at the tethering rope, grows fat. The melon." Cf. *Qazaq kök lağım kögende turup semirgen. Qarbiz*. "A green kid grew fat lying tethered. The watermelon," Osm. *Gök oglak kökende bağlı. Kârpuz*: "the bluish (greenish) kid is tied to a tethering rope. Watermelon."² Cuman *olturğanım oba yer basqanım baqır čanaq* (Kuun: *čamek* which Tietze reads as *čänäk*, but Grønbech, KWb., p. 73 has, correctly in my view, *čanaq*). *Ol üzengi*. "Where I sit is a hilly place. Where I tread is a copper bowl. The stirrup." Cf. *Qazaq otırganım oba žer basqanım baqır šanaq*.

¹A. Tietze, *The Koman Riddles and Turkic Folklore* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1966), pp. X-XI.

²Ibid, pp. 71-72.

*Üzengi*¹ (CC, 120/145) *Yazda yavlı/yawlı toqmaq yatur. Ol kirpi-dir.* "In the plain a fatty club lies. It is the hedgehog." Cf. Xakas: *cazıda cağlığ toqpag çadır.* *Çılan* "On the plain a fatty club is lying. The snake." Qazaq: *Dalada žabuli toqpaq žatır. Kirpi* "On the plain there lies a closed club (or "club covered with a horse cloth"). Hedgehog."²

Other riddles show close structural or semantic parallels, e.g. (CC, 119/143) *aq kümening avzu yoq. Ol yumurtqa* "The white-vaulted structure has no mouth (opening). That is the egg." Cf. Qazaq: *auzı biten aq otau. Žumurtqa* "A white yurt whose mouth is closed. Egg," Qazan Tatar: *ber aq öy bar, kerege işegi yuq. yomurtqa* "There is a white house, it has no door for going in. Egg."³ (CC, 120/145) *Burunsız buz teşer. Ol qoy boğu.* "Without a nose it breaks through ice. It is sheep dung." Cf. Qazan Tatar *borınsız çipçiq boz tişä. Tamçı*, Başkir: *boronhoδ turgay boδ fisär. Tamsı.* Qazaq: *murınsız muz tesedi. Tamsı* "Beakless sparrow pierces the ice. Drop."⁴

The Religious Texts

At the time of the composition of the "Missionaries' Book," attempts to convert the Cumans already had a considerable history. An *episcopatus Cumanorum* seems to have been in existence by 1217 or 1218. The Papacy and the Hungarian kings were particularly interested in their conversion for a variety of reasons, both foreign and domestic. The Dominican and Franciscan orders were tapped for this program. The mission took on further momentum when a Cuman chieftain *Borc/Bortz* and his son *Membrok*, as well as a godly number of their tribesmen converted in 1227. Robert, the archbishop of Esztergom, received Papal permission to go to Cumania for this purpose.⁵ These missionary activities appear to have survived the Mongol invasions. By 1287, the Franciscan mission was flourishing under Cinggisid protection. They had a church and hospice at Kaffa and a chapel at the administrative center of the Crimea, Solxat. Yaylaq, the wife of Noğay, the Tatar strongman

¹Ibid, pp. 79-80.

²Ibid, pp. 83-84.

³Ibid, pp. 28-29.

⁴Ibid, pp. 91-92.

⁵B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Habelschwerdt, 1924), pp. 141-144; L. Tardy, *Sklavenhandel in der Tatarei* (Studia Uralo-Altaica, 20, Szeged, 1983), chap. II; Gy. Kristó, *Az aranybullák évszázada*, (Budapest, 1976), p. 71.

of the late 13th century, was baptized there. From the Crimea, missions were sent to the more northern Qıpçaq-Tatar lands.¹

The religious texts consist of homiletics that would be useful in the task of proselytization, the Ten Commandments, the Nicene Creed and various Psalms. An illustrative sampling is given below (CC, 132/184-185): *Tengrini sövgil barça üstünde* "Love God above all else" (= "Thou shalt have no other gods before me"), *Tengrining ati bile antičmegil* = "Thou shalt not take the Lord's name in vain," *ulu kün avurlağıl* = "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy," *atangi anangi xormatlağıl* "Honor they father and thy mother," *kişini öltürmegil* = "Thou shalt not kill," *oğur bolmağıl* = "Thou shalt not steal," *(h)ersek bolmağıl* = "Thou shalt not commit adultery," *yalğan tanixliq bermegil* "Thou shalt not bear false witness," *özge kişinin nemesi suxlanmağıl* = "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house" etc. The prohibition on graven images is curiously absent. Added to these commandments, however, are a number of others, e.g. *sevgil sening qarindaşın sening kibi* "Love thy brother as thyself."

(CC, 124/167) *Arı Augustus alay aytır: yazuqlu kişi, kim tiler kensi yazuqn ayتما(ğa), nečik Tengri tiler daxı, sening janung aringay, anga kerek tört neme burung gayğırmax kerek kirti köngül bile kensi yazuxung üçün...* "St. Augustine says thus: a sinful man who wishes to confess his sins, as God wishes it, so that your soul may be pure, four things are necessary for him [to do]. First, it is necessary to regret (repent) with a true heart one's sins..."

(CC, 121/158) *Kim egi köngül bile bizim yixövgе kelse ulu kün ağırlap anga bolğay alti yıl boşaq* "He who comes with a good heart to our church and honors the Sabbath, to him will be [granted] six years indulgence"

(CC, 137/186, the Psalm *Ave Porta Paradisi*):

*Ave učmaqning qabağı
tirilinkning ağači
yemişing bizge teyirding
Yesusnı qačan tuwurdung*

"Ave gate of Paradise, tree of life, Thou hast brought forth thy Fruit to us, when thou gavest birth to Jesus"

¹Altaner, *Dominikanermissionen*, pp. 144-151; Bratianu, *La mer Noire*, p. 24; Vásáry, *Az Arany Orda*, pp. 281-282; Spuler, *Goldene Horde*, pp. 211-217.

(CC, 124/164, "Parable of the Lepers"): *Kristus alay aytty kelepenlerge: barungız köriŋiz papazlarğa. Ol sözün Kristus bugün aytır barça yazuğ (li)larğa kim kerti kelepenler Tengri alında.* "Christ spoke thus to the lepers: 'Go, show yourselves before the priests,' These words Christ today says to all sinners who are true lepers before God."

(CC, 126/171, the "Pater Noster"): *Atamız kim kökte sen. Alğışlı bolsun sening [ating, kelsin] xanlığıŋ bolsun sening tilemeging nečik kim kökte alay yerde. Kündegi ötmekimizni bizge bugün bergil daxi yazuqlarımızni bizge boşatğıl nečik biz boşatırbiz bizge yaman etkenlerge* "Our Father which art in heaven. Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins as we forgive those who have done us evil" (instead of "for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us"). This may be compared wit a somewhat garbled "Pater Noster" which survived in Hungarian Cumania (CC, XLIV-XLV): *bezén attamaz kenzem kikte, szenleszen szenádon, döşön szenküklon, nicziegen gérde ali kékte, bezén, akomazne oknemezne ber bezge pitbüttör küngön... = Bizim atamız kim sen kökte, sentlessen ading, dözünsen könglün ničekim źerde alay kökte, bizim ekmemizni ber bizge... küngön...*

Finally, we may note the "Nicene Credo" (CC, 148/211-212): *Inanurmen barčağa erkli bir ata Tengrige kökni yerni barča körünür körünmezni yarattı dey. Dağı bir beyimiz Yesus Kristusğa barča zamanlardan burun atadan tuwğan turur (Kuun: ata tuuptrur = ata towupturur), Tengri Tengriden, yarix yarıxtan, čin Tengri čin Tengriden, etilmey atağa tözdeş tuwupturur, andan ulam bar barča bolğan-turur kim biz azamlar üçün dağın bizim ongımız kökden enip arı tından ulam erdeng ana Maryamdan ten alıp kişi bolup-turur...* "I believe in one God the Father, all-powerful, who created heaven and earth and all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who was born of the Father before all times, God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God, not created, born (of) the same substance as the Father, through Thee all things were made, who for us men and our health (=salvation) also descended from heaven and through the Holy Spirit and from the Virgin Mother Mary took flesh and became man..."¹

¹See also Drimba, *Syntaxe comane*, p. 314 for the text.

There are many other aspects of the CC which we may explore further. Given the limits of space, however, we will touch on only a few of them here.

Loanwords

The CC is very rich in the international mercantile vocabulary that had developed in the eastern Mediterranean and western-Eurasia. This vocabulary is particularly well-represented in the trilingual "Interpreter's Book." These terms, as we have seen, were largely of Persian or Arabic origin, often going back to still earlier borrowings into those languages from Greek and Indic. On the basis of the CC, it would appear that this international vocabulary had entered virtually every aspect of Cuman life. Having noted this, a word of caution is necessary. We must bear in mind that the vocabulary of Cuman urban dwellers was undoubtedly richer in these terms than their steppe neighbors. The polyethnic origins of the population of the Crimean cities almost certainly increased the "foreign" elements in local Cuman speech. Moreover, the compilers of the CC, given their origins, may have also been more inclined to use and hence include in their glossaries these lingua franca elements.

Greek Elements:¹ *bapas, papas, papaz* "priest" < παππᾶζ is also found in Qaraim, Armeno-Coman, Mamluk Qıpçaq, Balqar and Ottoman.² This term probably entered Cuman directly from Greek perhaps through Orthodox missionaries or merchants in the Crimea. *Fanar* "lantern" < φανᾶν, cf. also Osm. *fener*. It is found as a recent loanword from Russian (fonar') in Qazan Tatar and Qaračay-Balqar. *K(i)lisia* "church" < ἐκκλησία, cf. Qaraim *kilise*, Qaračay-Balqar *klisa*³ Osm. *kilise*. *Limen* "port" < λιμήν, cf. Osm. *liman*. *Mangdan* "parsley" < μακεδονήσ^f (ον) > Arab. *maqdunis/baqdunis*, cf. also Osm. *maydanöz* > Mod. Gr μαϊτανόζ. *Marul* "lettuce" < μάρούλ^f, μάρούλιν < Lat. *amarula* (*lactuca*), cf. Osm. *marul*, Mamluq Qıpçaq *marul*.⁴

¹ See discussion in A. Zajaczkowski, *Zwiazkik jezykowe połowiecko-sowiańskie* (Wrocław, 1949), pp. 14-16.

² N.A. Baskakov et al., *Karaimsko russko-pol'skij slovar'* (henceforth *KRPSL*, Moskva, 174), p. 445; X.I. Sujunčev, I.X. Urushiev (eds.), *Russko-karačaevo-balkarskij slovar'* (henceforth *RKBSL*, Moskva, 1965), p. 452. E. Tryjarski (ed., trans.), *Dictionnaire Arméno-Coman* (Warsaw, 1968, 1969), I, p. 101; Grunin, *Dokumenty*, pp. 183, 259; Deny, *Ephémérides*, p. 45; B. Atalay (ed.), *Et Tuhfet üz-Zekiyve jil-Luğat-Türkiyye* (Istanbul, 1945), ff. 24b3, 28b11 *papas* "ālim," *papas* "qasīs."

³ *KRPSL*, p. 319; *RKBSL*, p. 697.

⁴ N.P. Andriotēs, *Etymologiko leksiko tēs koinēs neoellenikēs* (Thessalonika, 1967), p. 198; *Et-Tuhfet*, f. 14a.

Timean "incense" < *νυμιάμα* possibly via Eastern Slavic *timian*.¹ *Trapes* "table" *ῥαπέζα*.

Eastern Slavic: *izba* "room, chamber" (CC, 100/119 *camera*, *hujra*) < *izba* "house, bath."² *Ovus* "rye" < Old Rus' *ov's*, Russ. *ověš* "oats," cf. Qaraim *uvus*. *Peč* "stove" < *Peč'*, cf. Qaraim *peč*. There are also more recent borrowings of this word into other Turkic languages from Modern Russian.³ *Samala* "pitch" < *smola* "soot," cf. Mamluk Qipčaq *samala*, *samla*, *salama*.⁴ *Salam* "straw" < *soloma*, cf. Mamluk Qipčaq *salam*, *kök salam* - *saman*, found also in Qaraim, Qaračay-Balqar, Qazan Tatar *salam* and in Hungarian *szalma*. The connection of Turkic *saman* "straw" with this term is unclear.⁵ Some terms are problematic, e.g. *terem* "tabernacle, shrine, cf. Old Rus' *terem* "high house, court, cupola, watch-tower," Russ. "room, tower-chamber" - Gr. *τέαμνον*, *τέέμνον* "room, chamber." But Sagay Turkic has *tärbä* "yurt," cf. Mong. *terme* "wall."⁶ Similarly, *bulov* "some kind of weapon, probably a club" < cf. Mamluk Qipčaq *bulav*, *bula'u*) may be taken from Eastern Slavic *bulava*. The reverse may also be true.⁷

Mongol: The CC contains a number of Mongol loanwords. Given the historical contacts of the Turkic and Mongolian peoples, not to mention the much-debated Altaic question, the dating and nature of these words pose many problems. Our task is further complicated by the fact that Mongol-speaking, or bilingual, Mongol and Turkic-speaking (i.e. Mongol tribes that were becoming Turkicized) joined the Cuman-Qipčaq confederation before the 13th century. Other Mongol influences undoubtedly stem from the era of Cinggisid hegemony. Thus, there are many layers of Cumano-Qipčaq-Mongol interaction, some very old, which cannot be easily differentiated. Poppe has done a very thorough study of these words. As a consequence, we shall give here only a representative sampling:

¹Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 480; Zajackowski, *Zwiqzki*, pp. 15-16.

²M. Fasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*, trans. O.N. Trubačev (2nd ed., Moskva, 1986), II, p. 120; *KRPSI.*, p. 573; Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 382.

³Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 382.

⁴Zajackowski, *Zwiqzki*, pp. 12-13; *Et-Tuhfet*, p. 232 and f. 18a.

⁵Zajackowski *Zwiqzki*, p. 13, n. 26; Kuryšžanov, *Issledovanie*, p. 183; Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 397; L. Benko et al., *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* (Budapest, 1967, 1976), III, pp. 663-664.

⁶S.N. Šipova, *Slovar' tjurkizmov v russkom jazyke* (Alma-Ata, 1976), p. 319; Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 476; H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (1843), 9th ed. Oxford, 1968), p. 1775; Zajackowski, *Zwiqzki*, p. 17.

⁷Fasmer, I, p. 237; Zajackowski, *Zwiqzki*, pp. 19-20; N. Poppe, "Die mongolischen Lehnwörter im Komanischen" *Németh Armağanı* (Ankara, 1962), p. 335 views it as a Mongol loanword from *bilägu*.

Codex Cumanicus	Mongol
<i>abağa</i>	<i>abağa</i> "uncle"
<i>abra-</i> "to defend"	<i>abura-</i> "to save"
<i>bilev</i> "grindstone"	<i>bilegü, bile'ü, bile-, bili-</i> "to stroke, stripe, streak"
<i>čeber</i> "pleasant, amiable"	<i>čeber</i> "pure, sober"
<i>egeči</i> "father's sister"	<i>egeči</i> (* <i>ekeči</i> "older sister"
<i>elbek</i> "richly"	<i>elbeg</i> "richly"
<i>kenete</i> "suddenly"	<i>genete, genedte</i> "suddenly"
<i>maxta-</i> "to praise"	<i>magta-, maxta-, maqta-</i> "to praise"
<i>nöger</i> "friend, comrade"	<i>nöker</i> "companion"
<i>olja</i> "war booty"	<i>olja</i> "booty"
<i>öbüge</i> "grandfather"	<i>ebüge</i> < * <i>ebüke</i> "grandfather"
<i>qaburğa</i> "rib"	<i>qabirğa</i> "rib"
<i>silevsün</i> "lynx"	<i>silegüsün</i> "lynx" etc. ¹

Among some of the problematic words, we may note Cuman *bağatur*, Pers. *bāhādūr*, Mong. *bağatur* "hero" which Poppe considered a Mongol loanword. Clauson, however, suggested that this very old, Inner Asian culture word went back to the language of the Hsiung-nu.² Cuman *qarav, qarov* "recompense, reward, retribution" (CC, 43/46 *premium, jazā*) and *qarav beriürmen* "I forgive, absolve" (*retribuo, mīāmorzām*), cf. Qaraim *qaruv* "answer" — Mong. *qariğu, xariğu* "answer, response, return, retribution."³ Cuman *tepsi* "plate, dish" (in numerous Turkic dialects) — Mong. *tebsi* "large oblong plate, platter or tray, trough" < Chin. *tieh-tzu* Middle Chin. *dep tsi*.⁴ Of uncertain origin is (CC, 90/105) *bogavul/bogawul* "officer of the court" *placarius, tatawul*, cf. the Ilxanid functionary *bukāwil/buqāwul* "Vorkoster, vielleicht General Zahlmeister."⁵

¹ Poppe, "Die Mongolischen Lehnwörter," pp. 332-345.

² Poppe, "Die Mongolischen Lehnwörter," p. 335; Clauson, *ED*, p. 313.

³ Musaev, *Leksika*, p. 45; F. Lessing *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Boomington, 1982), p. 37; N. Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies* (Helsinki, 1955), p. 66. Cf. also Çağatay qaru, Qazax, Teleut, Altay qaru "otvet." Qazan Tatar qaru "mest", vozmezdie" (V.V. Radloff, *Opyt slovarja tjurkskix neregij*, SPb., 183-111, II/1, c. 187).

⁴ Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 468; Clauson, *ED*, p. 445.

⁵ B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran* (4th rev. ed., Leiden, 1985), p. 227. Cf. Çağatay (Şeyx Süleyman Efendi, *Lugat-i Çağatay ve Türki-Osmani*, İstanbul, 1298/1880-1881, p. 75) bakawul "destur-i salar, çeşnegir, vekil-i harç, divanbegi." See also F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (1892, Beirut, 1970), p. 194 bakawul "a head cook, a superintendent of the kitchen, steward, butler, cupbearer."

Arabic: Arabic elements, as we have seen, are quite numerous in all the socio-linguistic categories noted in the "Interpreter's Book" and elsewhere. This reflects the important Muslim political, commercial and religio-cultural influences in the Crimea. That these words were not limited to the Muslim population can be seen by their presence, without sectarian connotations, in Qaraim and Armeno-Coman. Elsewhere in this study, frequent reference has been made to words of Arabic origin, many of which entered Cuman via Persian. We shall cite here only a few examples: *alam* "banner" < Arab. 'alam, *albet* "certainly, of course" < Arab. *albatta*, *azam* "man" < adam, *šeriat* "judge" < Arab. *šar'* *iyyah* "Muslim law." This use of a specific Muslim term for a broader category is also a feature of the *Tolkovanie jazyka poloveckogo* (13th century?, discussed below), cf. *alkoran* "zakon" < *al-qur'ān*, *elfokaž* "učiteli i velikie tolkovnici" < *al-fuqhā* "jurists of religious law."¹ *Xöküm* "judgement, decision" < Arab. *üukm*, *hakim*, *xakim* "doctor" < Arab. *üakim*, *aziz*, *haziz* "rare, costly, pilgrim, holy, sacred" < Arab. 'aziz, *nur* "light" < Arab. nūr, *safar* "journey" < Arab. *safar*, *šeir* "poet" < Arab. *ši'r* "poetry," *šā'ir* "poet," *tafariq* (CC, 132/184, *tafsanyt*) "difference" < Arab. *tafriq*, pl. *tafāriq* "separation, differentiation."

Persian: The principal Muslim lingua franca of the East, Persian, is also well-represented in the CC. As these words have been pointed out in much of the foregoing, the following is only a very brief sampling: *daru* "medicine" < Pers. *dārū*, *drust* "true" < Pers. *drust*, *durust*, *bazar* "bazaar, market" < Pers. *bāzār*, *bazargan* "merchant" < Pers. *bāzargān*, *hergiz*, *herkiz* "never" < Pers. *hargiz* "ever, always, continuously," *jahan*, *jehan* "World" < Pers. *jahān*, *jihān*, *jigar* "liver" < Pers. *jigar*, *piyala* "goblet" < Pers. *piyāla* etc.

Hebrew, Syriac and Others Elements: as was noted earlier, Cuman *šabat kün* "Saturday" derives ultimately from Hebrew *sabbat* via a probable Khazar intermediary. The name (CC, 143/202) *Hawa/Hava* "Eve" also appears in its Hebrew form (Hava) rather than the expected Eva. Interestingly, the word for "Messiah" appears in its Syriac form, or a form derived from it: (CC, 138/18) *mišixa* < Syr. *Mešiüa*. There are a number of words of undetermined origin. Among them is (CC, 160/222) *kešene* "grave mound," which is preserved in Qarašay and Balqar *k'ešene*, *kešene* "Friedhoff, grobnica."² Ligeti suggested a Caucasian provenance without adducing further

¹ See text in L.S. Kovtun, *Russkaja leksikografija epoxi srednevekov'ja* (Moskva-Leningrad, 1963), p. 325.

² W. Pröhle, "Karatschajisches Wörterverzeichnis" *Keleti Szemle*, XI (1909), p. 109; KBRSL, p. 126.

evidence. Zajączkowski noted Pelliot's earlier Persian etymology, *kāšāna* "a small house."¹ But, it is not quite clear how the Cuman form could have emerged from the Persian.

The authors of the "Missionaries' Book" had to create or elaborate a special Christian vocabulary. Certain religious terms were already known to Cuman, as part of the Inner Asian Turkic legacy of long-standing contacts with a variety of religions. Thus, terms such as *tamu*, *tamuq*, *tamux* "Hell," *učmaq* "Paradise," both loanwords from Sogdian (*tamw*, 'wštmǵ) or some other Iranian language², were already familiar concepts and not necessarily in a Christian form. These and other Old Turkic terms were now given a specific Christian nuance, e.g. *bitik* (< *biti*- "to write" < Middle Chin. *piēt* "brush") "anything written, book" now became "The Book," i.e. the Bible. Other terms were loan-translated into Turkic, e.g. *Bey(imiz) Tengri* "Dominus Deus," *üčlük* "the Trinity," *arı tın* "the Holy Ghost," *köktegi xanlıq* "the Kingdom of Heaven," etc. An interesting usage (if not original in Cuman) is *yix öv* (< *iduq* ev "holy, sacred house") "church" (found in Qaraïm as *yeg'üv* "church," a semantic parallel can be seen in Hung. *egyház* "church," lit. "holy house")³ The notion of "saviour" was directly translated into Turkic: (CC, 122/160) *Yesus Christus bitik tilinče, tatarča qutqardaçı, ol kertirir barča elni qutqardaçı* "Jesus Christ. in the language of the Book, in Tatar, is the Saviour, that means the Saviour of all people."⁴

The Cuman calendar (see above) shows neither specific Christian influences nor any trace of the Sino-Turkic 12 year animal cycle. This appears to be an archaic system, typical, perhaps, of the Northern Turkic milieu from which the Qipčaq emerged.⁵

Other examples of this older Turkic culture can be seen in words such as *qam* "sorceress" < *qam* "shaman, sorcerer, soothsayer, magician."⁶

¹ Ligeti, "Prolegomena," p. 50; Zajączkowski, *Zwizski*, p. 23.

² Clauson, *ED*, pp. 257-503.

³ Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 164; *KRPSt.*, p. 269; Benkö, *A magyar nyelv történeti-etim. szót.*, I, p. 724.

⁴ On a number of these terms, see Çağatay, "Codex Cumanicus sözlüğü," pp. 150-152. Not all of the terms given by her, however, are necessarily Christian innovations, cf. *kün*- "to confess," but, Garaxanid *oğrı köndi* "the thief admitted his theft" (Clauson, *ED*, p. 726).

⁵ Bazin, *Calendriers*, pp. 625-628.

⁶ Clauson, *ED*, p. 625.

Cuman Documents Contemporary to the Codex Cumanicus

A number of Qipčaq-Arabic grammar/glossaries (sometimes containing other language as well) appeared in Mamluk lands in the 14th and 15th century. Close in content to the CC, although very different in format, are the *Kitāb al-Idrāk li'l-Lisān al-Atrāk* (ca. 1313 or 1320) of Abu Ḥayyān (1286-1344), the *Kitāb Majmū' Tarjumān Turkī wa 'Ajāmī wa Muğalī wa Fārsī* (now dated to 1343), the *Kitāb Bulğat al-Muštāq fi Luğat at-Turk wa'l-Qifjāq* of Jalāl ad-Dīn Abu Muḥammad 'Abdallāh at-Turkī (which may date to the late 14th century, but certainly before the mid-15th century), the *At-Tuūfah az-Zakiyyah fi'l-luğat at-Turkiyyah* of as yet undetermined authorship (written before 1425) and the *al-Qawānīn al-kulliyyah li-Dabṭ al-Luğat at-Turkiyyah* written in Egypt at the time of Timur.¹ To this list may perhaps be added the thus far partially published six-language Rasūlid Hexaglot (dating to the 1360's) which contains vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, two dialects of Turkic (one of which is clearly Oğuz, the other may be viewed as Qipčaq or a mixed Eastern Oğuz-Qipčaq dialect), Greek, Armenian and Mongol.²

There are also fragments of Cuman-Rus' glossaries such as *Se tatarsky jazyk* which is found in a 15th century *sbornik* from Novgorod and the *Tolkovanie jazyka poloveckago* found in a 16th century menologium.³ These undoubtedly date from an earlier period.

Finally, mention should be made of the Qipčaq translation of Sa'di's *Gulistān* done by Sayf-i Sarayī in Cairo in 793/1390-1391.⁴

P. B. G.

¹See B. Fleming, "Ein alter Irrtum bei den chronologischen Einordnung des Tarğuman turki wa 'ajami wa muğali" *Der Islam*, 44 (1968), pp. 226-227; A.F. Karamanlioğlu, "Kıpçaklar ve Kıpçak Türkesi" *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, XII (1962), pp. 175-184.

²See P.B. Golden, "The Byzantine Greek Elements in the Resulid Hexaglot" *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, V (1985), pp. 41-154.

³Kovtun, *Russkaja leksikografija*, pp. 322, 325; M.P. Alekseev, *Slovary inostranny jazykov v russkom azbukovnike XVII veka* (Leningrad, 1966), pp. 18-27; O. Pritsak, "Se Tatarsky jazyk" *Orbis Scriptus. D. Tschewzowskij zum 70 Geburtstag*, ed. D. Gerhardt et al., (München, 1966), pp. 641-654.

⁴Drüll, *Codex Cumanicus*, p. 11; A. Bombacci, *La letteratura turca* (Milan, 1969), p. 126. The facsimile of the Leiden ms. has been published by F.N. Uzluk, *Seyfi Serayi Gülistan Tercümesi* (Ankara, 1954).

THE HISTORY OF BUKHARA BY NARSHAKHĪ

Richard N. Frye

At the outset there are several general points to be made about city chronicles in the eastern Islamic world. First, in mediaeval times the books usually were presented, if not commissioned by, a ruler, an *amīr*, or to a minister of the government, or occasionally even to a rich and influential person. The nineteenth and twentieth century city histories, however, were not presented to anyone but for the most part were written because of pride in the city or the desire to record or to exalt the names of a few leading families in the town. Second, many local histories, both old and more recent, give lists of visitors to *ziyarets* or local shrines while others are in search of roots, the reconstruction of family lines and identity relationships. After the Mongol conquest, most city histories concentrate on the '*ulamā*' or local religious leaders and rarely do political or other figures appear in them. From all of this, the natural conclusion is that for the writers of local chronicles, history simply meant biography. One might even go further in the suggestion that, just as in fine arts, we find individual biography in the West, so collective biography is the hallmark of the East.

In the earlier Islamic history of the eastern Islamic world, however, we seem to find less interest in the '*ulamā*' and more in general historical events as related to a local area. The reason for this seems obvious; there were not many prominent Islamic '*ulamā*' in the first few centuries after the Arab conquest, and it took a long time for local and Islamic interests to coalesce with the complete dominance of the latter over the former, which made anything pre or non-Islamic irrelevant to readers. The book under discussion in the present article is significant in being a transition between histories, such as that of Tabarī, recounting historical events and the later histories, which, as remarked, were really collective biographies. Let us turn to the history of Narshakhī, which for its original time and place of composition had to have been written in Arabic. It is the outstanding example of its kind which we have preserved, albeit not in its original garb.

The Persian translation of an original Arabic history of the town of Bukhara is one of a genre of literature found in the eastern part of the Islamic world, especially popular in Iran and Central Asia. The fact that it was emended several times and translated is a good indication of its popularity. The Arabic text of Narshakhi, however, because of information in it other than concerning Muslim notables, seems to have been different from similar histories of other towns, unless we suppose that the epitomizer of his book, or the translator into Persian, added entire sections or some information not found in the Arabic, thus changing the original text. In any case, in view of the many manuscripts preserved of Narshakhi's history, although most are from the nineteenth century, we may presume that this book was indeed well liked and deserving to be called a monument of Central Asian literature for that reason.

Who was Narshakhi and what is the textual history and the contents of his book? And why was his work different from comparable books such as the histories of Nishapur and Isfahan? Unfortunately, because of the paucity of sources, the first question cannot be answered, but we may attempt to answer the other two.

The text which we have today has passed through several recensions and we may begin with the original author. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far Narshakhi, from the village of Narshakh in the Bukhara oasis, wrote a history of Bukhara in Arabic which he presented to the Samanid ruler Nuḥ b. Naṣr either in 332/943 or in 337/948.¹ Nothing is known about Narshakhi except his authorship of this one book. In the month of May, 1128, a certain Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Qubavī translated the book into Persian, since in his day people found it difficult to read Arabic, and some of his friends requested him to make the translation.² The translator continues that he omitted unimportant items which could fatigue the reader. Then in 1178 or 1179 the work was abridged by Muḥammad b. Zufar b. 'Umar and presented to the ruler of Bukhara at that time, a Hanafi religious leader called 'Abd al-Aziz b. Māze Bukhārī with the title Ṣadr al-ṣudr. Finally, an unknown person added material relating to the Mongol conquest of Bukhara, and, of course, he or others again may have re-worked the text.³

¹Cf. my *The History of Bukhara* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), xi-xii, and notes. Qazvinī's suggestion that the name should be read Barsakhi was rightly rejected by Mudārris Razavī in his edition of the *Tarikh-e Bukhara* (Tehran, 1351/1973), p. 16 of introduction.

²According to the first page of the extant text.

³Some mss. of Narshakhi's history have remarks added from a history of a certain Fakhr al-dīn Mustaufī ('Irāqī). Cf. Razavī, *op. cit.*, p. 17 of introduction.

There were other earlier histories of Bukhara and Narshakhi certainly made use of some of them, but it is not possible to determine from whom and how much was borrowed either by him or later persons.¹ The fact that his book was abridged and remade, possibly throughout the centuries, shows a continuing interest in the subject among the people of Central Asia. The contents of the book, one would guess, set it apart from other histories of cities in the eastern Islamic world. It is true that the first section, however, on the judges (*qāzī*) of Bukhara is like the other histories of towns with lists of learned Muslims who lived in the town. Then, however, one of the redactors of Narshakhi's book apparently became tired or innovative, unlike the authors of the histories of Isfahan, Nishapur, Qum, etc., and inserted an interesting section on the origin of Bukhara from a book called the *Khazā'in al-'ulūm* 'treasuries of the sciences' by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥ. al-Nishāpūrī. This work contained interesting information about the pre-Islamic history of Bukhara and it is the source of most of the statements in Narshakhi's book about that era which makes his work different from others in this genre. Narshakhi's book then, because of these additions, can be characterized as a work following a chronological pattern of events, whereas other city histories are merely biographies or simply lists of prominent Muslim leaders or scholars in the city. In Narshakhi's work there is a section on various names, or strictly speaking appellatives, given to the town of Bukhara.

Although the origin of the name of the city is not explained in the chapter on the names of Bukhara, Narshakhi does give traditions about the merits of the city which, however, are found in other sources as well. There are two suggestions about the name of the city. One is that Bukhara is derived from an unattested Bactrian word for *viḥārā* or Buddhist monastery **bohoro* (written boioro), since Bactria was the home of Iranian Buddhism. Another theory has the name derived from Sogdian (Christian) *fwq'r* meaning 'fortunate, blessed' which corresponds to Narshakhi's appellative *fākhire* 'glorious, distinguished.'² In this regard, it should be mentioned that Bukhara never became a Buddhist center as did Bactria, although the inhabitants of the oasis probably were as tolerant of Buddhism as they were of other religions. Like Samarqand, the Bukharans were primarily traders as well as famous

¹ Mudarris Razavi, pp. 18-20 of his introduction, has listed other authors (Muḥ. b. Šāliḥ al-Laiṭhī and Abu'l-Ḥasan Madā'ini, etc.) probably utilized by Narshakhi, although not mentioned by him.

² Whether a city name derived from a building (*viḥārā*) or from an adjective 'glorious' is more plausible cannot be determined. Narshakhi proposed the latter, but one calls to mind Hamadan meaning 'place of gathering,' and many towns in pre-Islamic Iraq called Karka 'citadel' or Hira 'camping place'. As the Arabic texts say, 'God knows best.'

craftsmen and weavers. Especially famous in the trade was the cloth known as Zandaniji, so-named after the village of Zandana in the Bukharan oasis where it was first woven. Nashakhi says that this cloth was exported to Iraq, India and elsewhere.

To return to the early history of Bukhara, Nishāpurī says that Bukhara originally was a swamp, but the (Zarafshan) river brought sediment such that the wet areas became filled and dry. This accords well with the opinions of geologists, although the agency of man in making irrigation canals and diverting water also was important. It would seem that early settlements in the oasis of Bukhara developed around the houses, later villas or castles, of principal landowners in various districts. Nishāpurī says that Bukhara itself was late in development and other villages existed prior to the rise of our city. Baikand was the center of the most important ruler (*amir*) called Abrūī, or Abarzī, who became tyrannical such that many prominent people of the oasis migrated to the district of Tulas or Taraz, where they built a new town called Jamukat which is known to medieval Islamic geographers. We also know that Sogdian colonies were created elsewhere on trade routes to the east, so the information in the history of Narshakhi is quite plausible. The name Abrūī or Abarzī, however, is not found elsewhere and one can only speculate that he was an Hephthalite chief with a name similar to Warz or Varaz which seems to have been a family or tribal name as reported in other Islamic sources.¹

Narshakhi then gives a list of the rulers of Bukhara beginning with Bidūn who died in 680 and was succeeded by his widow called by the common title *khatūn*. She in turn was followed by her son Tughshāda about 707 or 709 who was murdered by two nobles of Bukhara in 739. Then his son Qutaiba, named after the famous Arab general, ruled from 739 to 750 when he was killed by the order of Abū Muslim. His brother Sakān then ruled until about 757 when another brother Bunyāt held the rule until 782 or 783. After him we have no information until we find the last lord of Bukhara called Abū Ishāq Ibrahim b. Khālid b. Bunyāt II who died in 913. This account of the native dynasts of a district is unique in city histories of the Islamic world. Unfortunately, no coins with the names of these rulers exist, and it is possible that Narshakhi is correct in claiming that pure silver coins were first struck in Bukhara during the caliphate of Abū Bakr (632-634), and they were probably those local coins with the bust of a ruler wearing a crown similar to that of Bahrām V of Sasanian Iran who ruled in the fifth century. This does not

¹On the unlikely identification of this person as an Avar (Abarōi) cf. W. Haussig, "Theophylaktos Exkurs über die Skythischen Völker," *Byzantion* 23 (1953), 329.

necessarily mean that the Bukharan coins were minted at the time, of or shortly after, the reign of Bahrām. The fame of this ruler, and possibly also his military campaigns in Central Asia, may have been enough to persuade later rulers of Bukhara to emulate him by copying his coins. The continuation of one kind of coinage from the fifth to the tenth century, which is the generally accepted view of the span of currency of the Bukharan coins, would be most unusual, however, and even if we accepted Narshakhī's statement and consider the length of use of the coins to be only from the seventh to the tenth century, this length of time also is rarely found elsewhere. For the Bukharan legend on the coins remained the same for a very long period, until finally Arabic replaced the local language probably toward the end of the ninth century. The Bukharan legend was read by W.B. Henning as *Ūwβ k'w'* or 'Bukharan king, emperor.' The last word, however, could be read as *k/β'w/n'* since the distinction between β and k as well as w and n is difficult to discern. Furthermore, the contention that the legend in time changed from *k'w'* to *k'y*, a Sogdian reflex of the Sasanian title, which was written *kdy* in Pahlavi, but pronounced *kāy*, is difficult to accept. Also, I find it unlikely that Narshakhī or his informant, according to Henning, misread the last word on the coins as *kānā* and thereby created a ruler of Bukhara by that name who began the minting of these coins. Compared with other coins elsewhere one would expect a proper name after the title on the coins with a not unusual degeneration of that name in later coins of the same type. I suggest that the information given by Narshakhī about pre-Islamic Bukhara was not all fantasy, and the story of the minting of coins could be substantially correct. Further evidence is needed to accept or refute this theory, of course, and such data is unlikely to appear. Whether fact or fantasy Narshakhī's book is unusual in giving such detailed information about pre-Islamic times.

Another chapter on the villages in the Bukharan oasis is noteworthy for various items of information about them. For example, in describing the village of Ramitin, he says that the people of Bukhara have special songs or dirges about the death of Siyavush, and this statement prompted art historians to identify one of the wall paintings uncovered at Penjikent to the east of Samarkand as depicting people mourning over Siyavush.¹ Not only villages but also the wall surrounding the oasis of Bukhara, as well as the wall around the city proper, receive detailed notices. Even in these chapters, Narshakhī's book reveals features not found in other histories of cities written before the Mongol conquests.

¹Cf. G. Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting* (U. of California Press, Berkeley, 1981), 129-131.

Although other sources, especially Ṭabari, give accounts of the Arab invasion and conquest of the oasis of Bukhara, Nashakhi's book is the most detailed, as is his account of the religious rebellion of the followers of Muqanna' after the establishment of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, most likely because people in his village of Narshakh preserved stories about Muqanna' who had received support in this village.¹ Likewise, the account of the Shi'ite uprising in Bukhara at the fall of the 'Umayyads, and its suppression at the order of Abū Muslim is detailed and reveals the support given to the 'Abbasids by the local ruler of Bukhara against the Shi'ites who probably represented the lower classes in the city. From Narshakhi's book one may infer that the local aristocracy supported the Islamic government, first in Damascus then in Baghdad, upholding order against the lower classes who seem to have been prone to join dissident Shi'ite and heretical movements. On several occasions Turks are mentioned as supporting the rebels or heretics, which indicates both an infiltration into the countryside of Turkish nomads as well as their opposition to the local government. The migration of Turkish tribes southward which began in pre-Islamic times probably continued in the Islamic period on a small scale until the fall of the Samanids when large groups of Turks spread into the Near East. The process was greatly accelerated under the Seljuks and then the Mongols.

The last part of the book tells of the rise of the Samanids followed by sections on each of the rulers, although the text becomes less detailed with later rulers of the dynasty. It is nonetheless a prime source on the history of the Samanids. The main value of the book, however, lies in the bits of scattered information relating to Bukhara from the Arab conquests into the tenth century of our era. Items of interest include the statement that new converts to Islam did not have to learn Arabic but made their prostrations to commands in Sogdian, and they read the Quran in Persian! This remark may be a throwback from a later reference to interlinear Persian translations of the Quran, or it possibly might refer to early translation of part of the Quran into Persian by missionaries seeking to convert. It is not inconceivable that translations of parts of the Quran were made into Persian, or even into Sogdian soon after the Arab conquests in Central Asia and possibly first here rather than in Iran proper. The statement that Qutaiba bribed the people of Bukhara to come to the Friday prayers is also not unexpected and a welcome source regarding conversions to Islam. In short, the text of Narshakhi contains many nuggets of information of interest to various specialists; it is indeed a unique source, especially for the early Islamic history of Central Asia.

¹In a letter sent by Muqanna' to prospective followers, and reproduced by Narshakhi on p. 66 of my translation, the word 'I' (Persian *man*) should be replaced by Arabic *min*, 'from,' probably a holdover from the Arabic original.

Narshakhī's book also served as a source as well as a model for later histories of Bukhara and elsewhere. For example, the later book *Tārīkh-e Mullāzāde* by a certain Mu'īn al-Fuqārā', written in the first part of the ninth/fifteenth century, made use of Narshakhī's work, which is called *Akhbar-e Bukhārā* by the author of *Mullāzāde*, although the latter book is concerned with the shrines of prominent Muslim judges and religious scholars in the city, as well as being full of Arabic quotations to show the author's competence in that language.¹ This book is a parallel to the popular counterpart of the history of Samarqand called *Qandiyya*, and it is difficult to determine whether the book on Samarqand served as a model for the *Mullāzāde* or the reverse. In any case, none of the later histories of cities has the same kind of information Narshakhī's as history, although his remarks on the learned Muslim scholars of Bukhara are prerunners of the inflated and adorned accounts of later writers who do not hesitate to sprinkle their remarks with Arabic words and phrases, which is characteristic of post-Mongol Persian literature.

Narshakhī's work can be regarded as the earliest preserved city history in the Persian language, the beginning of a genre which continued to be popular in Central Asia until the nineteenth century even when Uzbeks, Turkmen, Kazaks, Kirghiz and Uighurs dominated the scene. The Persian language continued to be the medium through which histories not only of cities but also of dynasties and rulers became known to the world. In any study of Muslim Central Asia the books written in Persian are the basic sources for the history and culture of that part of the world.

It should be remembered that, where today Turkish-speaking peoples and tribes roam or are settled, before the eleventh century various-Iranian-speaking peoples, such as the Bactrians, Khwarazmians, Sogdians and the widely spread Sakas, dominated the landscape. Their cultural heritage persisted and the Turks mixed with the Iranians. As the eleventh-century author Mahmud al-Kashgharī in his Turkish dictionary said, *tatsiz türk bolmās, bassiz bōrk bolmas*, 'there is no Turk without an Iranian, [as] no cap without a head [to hold it].'

R. N. F.

¹Cf. R. Gafurova, "Istochniki, izpolzovannye avtorom 'kitab-i mulla-zade'," *Obshchestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistana*, 10 (Tashkent, 1961), 58-63.

QARAKHANID LITERATURE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF TURCO-ISLAMIC CULTURE

Robert Dankoff

The two major Qarakhanid literary monuments were the product of a unique moment in cultural history. The *Dīwān Lughāt at-Turk* by Maūmūd al-Kāshgharī, probably completed in 1077, is an encyclopedic lexicon of the Turkic dialects, including citation of proverbs and poetry, with glosses and explanations in Arabic. The *Qutadghu Bilig* by Yūsuf of Balasaghun, written in 1069, is a long didactic poem in the mirror-for-princes genre. The language which Kāshgharī described and in which Yūsuf composed is substantially the same language as that of the Turkic "runic" inscriptions dating from the eighth century; of the vast translation literature in Uighur Turkic, mainly of Buddhist content; and of the later efflorescence of Eastern Turkic Islamic literature known as Chaghatay, with its modern descendants, Uzbek and New Uighur. Taken together, the two monuments can be considered examples of an attempt by the Turks of Central Asia to lay the foundations for a Turco-Islamic literary culture.

The Qarakhanid Turks converted to Islam in the middle of the tenth century. Unlike the Seljuks, who began their career as a band of freebooters, and the Ghaznavids, who started out as slaves, the Qarakhanids, led by their Khaqans, preserved much of their Central Asian aristocratic and cultural heritage. They traced their ancestry to the legendary hero Alp Ār Tonga, whom they identified with the arch-enemy of Iran, Afrāsiyāb. They cultivated Turkic language, and also continued to employ the Uighur script (which they called "Turkic" script) — a rare example of a Muslim people using a non-Arabic script.

By the eleventh century, while the Iranian component of Islamic culture was already well advanced, the Turkic one had yet to be created. The Qarakhanids played a cultural role for the Muslim Turks similar to that of the Samanids for the Muslim Iranians a century before. In this they again differed from the Ghaznavids and Seljuks, who both patronized Iranian and not Turkic culture.

By "culture" here I intend something wider than literature. I mean specifically what is connoted by the Arabic term *adab*.¹ Originally the word meant "custom." In early Islam it came to mean "high quality of soul, good upbringing, urbanity and courtesy." It represented an ideal corresponding to "the refining of bedouin ethics and customs as a result of Islam and the contact with foreign cultures during the first two centuries A.H." In intellectual content, *adab* meant "profane culture... based in the first place on poetry, the art of oratory, the historical and tribal traditions of the ancient Arabs, and also on the corresponding sciences: rhetoric, grammar, lexicography, metrics." During the period of high Abbasid culture in the ninth century the concept was broadened to include non-Arab traditions as well, particularly Iranian epic and narrative, and Iranian gnomic wisdom (*andarz*), but also Indian fables and Greek philosophy. Finally, in the narrower sense of literature, *adab* meant belles-lettres; thus it became the basis of the term for literature (*adabiyāt*) in several modern Islamic languages.

For what concerns us here, which is the creation of a Turkic *adab*, we can see three outstanding elements in the Arab and Iranian *adabs* that served as models for the Turkic. These are, first, the mastery of language; second, the transmission of profane wisdom, particularly as attached to the royal courts; and third, pride in the national legends, customs and traditions.

The Arabic philologists of the first few Islamic centuries, partially for religious reasons, made it their task to collect and record all the linguistic usages of the Arabs, especially as preserved and handed down in the poetry and proverbs of the Jāhiliyya. The study and mastery of Arabic provided the basis not only of the profane culture, or *adab*, but also of the religious sciences, or *ilm*. This might be the reason why grammatical and lexicographic scholarship lagged in the Iranian cultural sphere. From the early period we have only Asadi's *Lughat-i Furs*, written c. 1070, with its limited aim of explaining difficult words used by Firdawsi and the other New Persian poets. We shall see in a moment that Kāshghari expresses a rather different orientation to the question of linguistic scholarship, one that hearkens back to the Islamic ideology which spurred on the Arabic philologists in their classical period.

The great Iranian contribution to *adab* culture was the translation of the Sasanian royal traditions into a form suitable for the Islamic context. The works of Ibn al-Muqaffa' are pre-eminent here; but we may also mention the

¹ See F. Gabrieli, art. "adab" in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition. The quotations in this paragraph are from that article.

Kitāb at-Tāj of pseudo-Jāūiz, and the *Jāvidān Khirad* of Miskawaih. This movement added a stock of Iranian *andarz* to the Arab *amthāl* (proverbs); also a stock of epical and historical traditions which the chroniclers tried to coordinate with their inherited Arabian and Israilitic materials. The specific pride in Iranian, versus Arab, civilization, which had given rise to the Shu'ūbiyya phenomenon, emerged triumphant with the Samanids, and is very clear in the *Shāh-nāmeh*. It is characteristic that when al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) set out, toward the end of his life, to write a mirror for princes, he chose to do so in Persian and not in Arabic.

Returning to the Turks, let us briefly examine the Qarakhanid literary monuments to determine whether they can be interpreted, each in its own way, as an attempt to create a Turkic *adab*.

In his introduction to the *Diwān Lughāt at-Turk*, Kāshghari states:¹

When I saw that God Most High had caused the Sun of Fortune to rise in the Zodiac of the Turks, and set their Kingdom among the spheres of Heaven; that He called them "Turk," and gave them Rule; making them kings of the Age, and placing in their hands the reins of temporal authority; appointing them over all mankind, and directing them to the Right; that He strengthened those who are affiliated to them, and those who endeavor on their behalf; ... [then I saw that] every man of reason must attach himself to them, or else expose himself to their falling arrows. And there is no better way to approach them than by speaking their own tongue, thereby bending their ear and inclining their heart.

He then quotes the prophetic hadith: "Learn the tongue of the Turks, for their reign will be long;" and goes on to say: "if this Hadith is sound ... then learning it is a religious duty; and if it is not sound, still Wisdom demands it." The peroration ends with his dedication of the work to the reigning caliph, al-Muqtadi.

¹Maūmūd al-Kāshghari, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Diwān Luḡāt at-Turk)*, edited and translated with introduction and indices by Robert Dankoff, in collaboration with James Kelly, 3 vols. (Duxbury, Mass., 1982, 1984, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 70-86.

In explaining his methodology in drawing up his work, Kāshghari writes:

I have set it out according to the order of the alphabet; and adorned it with words of wisdom and elegant speech, proverbs, verses of poetry, and sentences of prose. ... I originally intended to structure the book along the lines of al-Khalil ... in order to show that the Turkic dialects keep pace with Arabic like two horses in a race.... I have strewn therein examples of their verses, which they utter in their pronouncements and declarations; as well as proverbs which they coin according to the ways of wisdom, both in adversity and in felicity, and which are handed down from speaker to transmitter. And I have gathered therein much-repeated matters, and famous expressions. Thus has the book attained the utmost of excellence, and the extreme of refinement.

The immediately following section is an exposition of the "Turkic" (i.e., Uighur) script, which "is used for all documents and correspondence of the Khaqans and the Sultans, from ancient times to the present, and from Kāshghar to Upper Şin [China], encompassing all the lands of the Turks." The last sections of the introduction deal with grammar, dialectology, and linguistic geography, including the famous map.

The verses which Kashgari cites are, like the proverbs, oral and anonymous. And they are all in the syllabic-counting meters of Turkic folk poetry. The scattered, isolated verses, which are cited to illustrate usage, can be grouped together in "verse cycles" — groups of stanzas sharing a common rhyming and metrical scheme and a common theme.¹ There are fifty or so such cycles, ranging from one to sixteen stanzas. A third of these falls in the class of "wisdom" poetry, and a fifth relates to warfare; the rest are concerned with love, nature, the hunt, etc. One frequently cited is a lament on the death of Alp Ar Tonga (identified with Afrāsiyāb).

There are, in addition, two "narrative cycles" which can be pieced together from Kāshghari's historical or legendary notes connected with the folk etymologies of geographical names and culture terms. All these materials relate either to Afrāsiyāb, or to a certain Shu, "king of the Turk," who defeated the world-conqueror Dhu'l-Qarnayn (Alexander the Great).

¹The task of grouping the stanzas in a coherent order was begun by Köprülü and continued by Brockelmann and, more recently, by Stebleva and by Dankoff and Kelly (see Dankoff and Kelly, vol. 1, p. 5, n. 9 and vol. 3, pp. 290-311). See also Talat Tekin, *XI. Yüzyıl Türk Şiiri* (Ankara, 1989).

The striking thing about both these cycles is their lack of resemblance to the Afrāsiyāb-Tūrān theme and to the Alexander romance theme as found, for example, in the *Shāh-nāmeḥ*. Rather, we have indigenous Central Asian legends relating to Tonga Alp Ār and to King Shu as national heroes of the Turks.

Thus: Afrāsiyāb was the Khaqan; the founder of the royal dynasty of Khans, Tegins, and Terims; and the father of Qaz, Barman, and Barsghan, who all founded cities named after them. (The city named after Qaz is Qazvin in Iran, originally Qaz Oynī meaning "Qaz's playground"!) He himself founded Kāshghar (= Ordu Kānd), while his residence was at Barchuq. Now none of this is known to the Iranian tradition. In the *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, for example, Afrāsiyāb has a son named Shida and daughters named Manizha and Farangiz; while his residence is at Qunduz (= Gang), later at Baikand.

In Kāshghari's version of the Alexander romance,¹ Dhu'l-Qarnayn gives names to the three main Turkic groups of the age — the Chigil (= Qarakhanids), the Turkman (= Oghuz), and the Uighur — all of them provided with Persian (!) etymologies. He also furnishes the names for a place (Altun Qan), a title (Ōgā), another tribe (Qalach), and a food (Tutmach) — all these with good Turkic etymologies. But Dhu'l-Qarnayn is not the hero of the legend, for he is defeated by the Turkic king Shu, founder of the capital of Balasaghun. The idea of Alexander as the enemy reflects a pre-Islamic Iranian view (Iskandar-i mal'ūn); in the *Shāh-nāmeḥ* and later *Iskandar-nāmeḥ* he is the invincible hero, even (under Koranic influence) a kind of Prophet.

Finally, Kāshghari at one point relates a ghazi legend, which in turn can be connected with four groups of verses that originally must have been part of one larger verse cycle, perhaps interspersed as songs within a prose narrative as in the later Turkish minstrel cycles of Dede Korkut and Kōroğlu.²

So in the *Dīwān Lughāt at-Turk* we do have, in germ, Turkic epic materials. While it is a historical fact that these were not embroidered and developed in a pan-Turkic epic tradition, in the manner of the *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, some elements did survive in different dress. Thus, some of the Alexander-

¹ See R. Dankoff, "The Alexander romance in the *Dīwān Lughāt at-Turk*," *Humaniora Islamica* 1 (1973), 233-44.

² See R. Dankoff, "Three Turkic Verse Cycles Relating to Inner Asian Warfare," *Eucharisterion ... O. Pritsak* (Harvard Ukrainian Studies III/IV, 1979-80, Part 1), 151-165.

romance material turns up again in the legends of Oghuz Khan.¹ Similarly the ghazi legend, relating the miraculous victory of a Muslim Turkic hero over a group of infidel Turkic tribes, survives to some extent in themes incorporated into the *Tāzkhāre-i Satuq Bughra Khan*.

From Kāshghari's point of view, these poems and legends were only so many cultural materials, to be recorded in his *Dīwān* along with data on Turkic ethnography and folklore, social organization and kinship structure, calendars, recipes, and folk remedies. He saw it as his task to present these materials in a coherent way, for he was convinced of the supremacy of the Turks in God's design, and of the need for non-Turkic Muslims to know the language and the lore of their Turkic brothers in the faith. Indeed, Kāshghari succeeded in doing for the Turks what the Arabic philologists in the first centuries of Islam had done for the Arabs: namely, to organize and elucidate their linguistic, genealogic, and cultural traditions.

We can say something very similar about *Qutadghu Bilig*:² that Yūsuf of Balasaghun attempted, with some measure of success, to establish the Central Asiatic Turkic tradition as a legitimate element within the parameters of Islamic culture, just as his counterparts from Ibn al-Muqaffa' to Firdawsī had done for the Iranian tradition. But unlike Firdawsī Yūsuf took as his starting point, not the sagas and epics that were current at his time, but rather the heritage of "royal wisdom" (*qutadghu bilig*) preserved in Qarakhanid ruling circles, which he tried to amalgamate with the Irano-Islamic ideals of statecraft preserved in Arabic and Persian *adab*.

Thus as authorities for the wisdom sayings scattered throughout the text, Yūsuf cites only various Turkic princes and poets, but also "an Arabic saying" (line 5809), "an Iranian sage" (line 3265), and the Sasanian king Nūshirvān, the model of just sovereignty (line 290). "If you observe well," he states in the introductory portion of the work (lines 276-282),

you will notice that the Turkish princes are the finest in the world. And among these Turkish princes the one of outstanding fame and glory was Tonga Alp Er. He was the choicest of men, distinguished by great wisdom and virtues manifold. ... The Iranians call him Afrāsiyāb, the same who seized and pillaged their realm.

¹See J. A. Boyle, "The Alexander Legend in Central Asia," *Folklore* 85 (1974), 217-28; and "The Alexander Romance in Central Asia," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 9 (1975), 265-73.

²See R. Dankoff, "Introduction" to Yūsuf Khāss Hājib, *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig): A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes* (University of Chicago Press, 1983); "Inner Asian Wisdom Traditions in the Pre-Mongol Period," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101.1 (1981), 87-95.

The world-conqueror requires great virtue indeed, and mind and wisdom, in order to rule. The Iranians have written this all down in books — and who could understand it if it were not written down?

Among the proverbs quoted by Kāshgharī in the *Dīwān Lughāt at-Turk* (fol. 465) is: *yaš ot köymäs, yalawar ölmäs* "Fresh grass does not burn, the messenger does not die." Kāshgharī goes on to say that this is so,

even though his message may contain treachery or coarseness on the part of the sender. This is similar to the words of the Exalted [Koran 5:99] "It is only for the Messenger to deliver the Message."

Conceivably this Turkic proverb was in Yūsuf's mind when, in an appropriate context in the *Qutadghu Bilig* (lines 3817-3819) he appeals to the authority of the Khan of the Turks (*türk ḥanī*) for the following lines:

yalawacqa bolmas ölüm ya qiyin
ēšitmiš sözün cün tągürsä tilin

yalawac tédüküm bu tilci turur
bu tilci sözün aysa ölmäs qalur

"The messenger deserves neither death nor punishment, so long as he faithfully reports what he has heard. For this messenger is merely a spokesman, and when the spokesman transmits his message, he is not killed, but is left alone." What is interesting to observe here is that for Kāshgharī and apparently for Yūsuf as well, the Turkic proverb is on a par with the Koranic verse.

The major issue in *Qutadghu Bilig* is the conflict between the political ideals of the community and the religious conscience of the individual. The conflict is dramatized in the form of a debate between two brothers, one of them a statesman and chief advisor to the king, the other a recluse and mystic. The statesman is called "Highly Praised" (Tk. Ögdülmiš, a translation of the Arabic name Muḥammad), while the recluse is named "Wide Awake" (Tk. Odghurmiš — cf. Ar. Yaqzān, which was already used as an allegorical name by Ibn Sinā).

Highly Praised knows what is best for the world's governance. In response to the king's queries, he describes the qualities and duties of the various courtiers: prince, vizier, commander, ambassador, secretary, treasurer, cook, etc. To Wide Awake, ignorant in the ways of the world, he explains

how one must conduct oneself with the various classes of society: courtiers and commoners, scholars, physicians, diviners, astrologers, poets, farmers merchants, stockbreeders, craftsmen, beggars. He also gives advice on how to choose a wife, how to raise children, how to behave as host and as guest, and how to interpret dreams. He is the perfect *adib*, the personification of worldly wisdom.

Wide Awake knows what is ultimately best for a man's soul. In pursuit of complete devotion to God, he has adopted a life of poverty, renunciation, and solitude. He personifies, as Yūsuf tells us (line 357), '*āqibet*: Man's Last End. In the mirror-for-princes scheme, Wide Awake provides a leaven of otherworldly goals and ideals, without which the ruler's life would be vain. The ultimate reconciliation of the brothers, in the king's presence, demonstrates one of the deep rooted themes of the Irano-Islamic statecraft tradition: that just sovereignty and right religion are twins, born of the same womb, and cannot be separated.

I have tried to show that the two major Qarakhanid literary monuments, judged on their own terms, were successful in laying a foundation for a Turkic *adab*: the one in the areas of linguistic scholarship and the recording of national lore; the other in the area of royal wisdom. But in terms of the historical development of Turkic culture, the efforts of Kāshgharī and of Yūsuf of Balasaghun were practically fruitless. No Turkic Firdawsī came along to celebrate the pre-Islamic exploits of Alp Ār Tonga. The lively epic and historiographic traditions developed later by the Ottomans in the west and by the Timurids in the east were entirely based, on the one hand, upon the Oghuz settlement of Anatolia, and on the other hand, upon the exploits of the Chingisids, Timurids, and Shaybanids.

As far as we know, only one Islamic historian ever attempted to incorporate Kāshgharī's legends about King Shu and Dhu'l-Qarnayn into a grander scheme — viz., Badraddīn al-Aynī in the first volume of his thirty-volume world history, written in 1422.¹ As for *Qutadghu Bilig*, the only one to quote it in later Turkic literature, again so far as we know, was Rabghuzi in his *Qışaṣ al-Anbiyā*, written in 1310, where we find a paraphrase of Yūsuf's, chapter "On the Seven Planets and the Twelve Constellations."² It is true, judging by the three extant MS copies, that *Qutadghu Bilig* did enjoy a certain

¹See Dankoff and Kelly, vol. 1, pp. 19-23.

²See G. Clauson, "Early Turkish Astronomical Terms," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 35 (1964), 132-50.

vogue as late as the Timurid period. But it never served as the basis for an elaboration, or even an imitation; in contrast, say, to the Persian *Qābūs-nāmeḥ*, a mirror for princes written in 1082, which was translated into Ottoman Turkish no less than five times in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

To conclude: if I am right that *Dīwān Lughāt at-Turk* and *Qutadghu Bilig* represent the budding of a Turkic *adab*; still, in terms of the historical development of Turco-Islamic culture, the labors of Kāshgharī and of Yūsuf of Balasaghun did not bear fruit. To revert to my original image, they laid a foundation, but the edifice was not built — or, to be more exact, an edifice was built later on (especially by the Ottomans in the west and the Timurids in the east), but on a different foundation.

R. D.

THE *UMDET ÜL-AHBAR* AND THE TURKIC NARRATIVE SOURCES FOR THE GOLDEN HORDE AND THE LATER GOLDEN HORDE

Uli Schamiloglu

in memory of Tibor Halasi-Kun (1914-1991)

A series of Turkic narrative sources have come down to us from the Later Golden Horde, the period of the successor states to the Golden Horde including the xanates of the Crimea, Kasimov, Kazan, and other political units in the 15th-18th centuries.¹ These narrative sources, mostly chronicles, are of fundamental importance for the study of the history of western Eurasia in the 13th-18th centuries. As most of these works are still available only in the original Turkic, they remain inaccessible and sometimes even unknown to the mainstream of modern scholarship.² It seems appropriate, therefore, to briefly survey these historical writings together with a closer examination of one particular work, the *Umdet ül-ahbar*. It is hoped that such a survey will encourage the integration of Turkic sources into the study of the history of the states of western Eurasia.

If we consider the various factors which might be seen as contributing towards the development of a major tradition of court historiography in this period, the Golden Horde did, in fact, incorporate some of these. One may argue—contrary to the view of Schurmann³—that a strong centralized state power did develop. Numerous urban centers, including over time several capitals, also existed.⁴ Finally, we know from the famous traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa

¹For Islamic Turkic narrative historical works written in these states see the references in A. Bennigsen et al., *Le khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı* (Paris, 1978), pp. 410-414; A. Temir, "Die alten Quellen der kasan- und nord-türkischen Literatur (bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert)", *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics. Presented to Shirō Hattori on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. R. Jakobson and S. Kawamoto (Tokyo, 1970), pp. 12-26, especially pp. 617-621; and M.A. Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki XVII-XVIII vv.* (Kazan, 1972). I have chosen to focus on sources for the Golden Horde from the successor xanates within the same territories, since the sources for this area are not known as well as the rich corpus of sources from Xwarezm and the other regions of Central Asia.

²In fact, this has led to underestimations of the scope of literary and historical writings among the Turkic peoples of western Eurasia. See A. Kappeler, *Russlands erste Nationalitäten. Das Zarenreich und die Völker der mittleren Wolga vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas* 14 (Cologne-Vienna, 1982), pp. 13, 41, 207, and 219.

³Cf. H.F. Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 19 (1956), pp. 304-389, especially p. 307.

⁴A catalog of the urban centers of the Golden Horde may be found in V.L. Egorov, *Istoričeskaya geografiya Zolotoy Ordi v XIII-XIV vv.* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 75-150.

and other sources that these urban centers served as home to religious institutions and the learned groups usually associated with them.¹ At the same time, certain factors worked against the florescence of a literary culture and its preservation. The Black Death, which struck the territories of the Golden Horde late in the 1340s, must have included a very high proportion of the learned groups in its heavy human toll.² The attacks on urban centers in the second half of the 14th century, the final Russian conquest of many cities, and the later history of fires in cities such as Kazan were also devastating in terms of the survival of a literary heritage.³ This may help explain why much of what survives of the literary culture of the cities of the Golden Horde has come down to us from outside the territories of the Golden Horde.

When enumerating the products of the Turkic literary culture in western Eurasia in this period, the best-known examples are the edicts and diplomatic correspondence collectively known as *yarlıqs*. These are not strictly speaking narrative sources and survive in original Turkic versions only from the end of the 14th century.⁴ This does not mean however, that there were no internal documents written before the end of the 14th century. *Yarlıqs* issued as early as the 13th century are preserved in translations into Russian and other languages from the original "Mongolian" (which could also mean Turkic in the Mongolian script which the Mongols borrowed from the Uyğurs). These

¹ See the references in B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland, 1223-1502* (Wiesbaden, 1965), p. 219 ff.

² For general remarks concerning the impact of large-scale outbreaks of disease on literacy see W.H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York, 1976), pp. 107 and 62. See also my forthcoming papers "Preliminary Remarks on the Role of Disease in the Golden Horde" in the *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Central Asia* (University of Wisconsin-Madison, April 27-30, 1988); and "The End of Volga Bulgarian", *Róna-Tas Festschrift*. I also examine this topic and a wide range of other issues in the social, economic, and cultural history of the Golden Horde in the 13th-14th centuries in my forthcoming book on this period.

³ Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki*, pp. 9-12.

⁴ Tibor Halasi-Kun made a fundamental contribution to the study of the documentary sources for this period through his discovery and study of some of the most important *yarlıqs*. See his "Monuments de la langue tatare de Kazan". *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Körös dicata*, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica V (Budapest, 1942-1947), i, pp. 138-155; and "Philologica III: Kazan Türkçesine ait dil yadigârları", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 7:4 (1949), pp. 603-644. See also the references in Bennigsen et al., *Le khanat de Crimée*, especially pp. 405-409; and M.A. Usmanov, *Jalovannîe akti Djuçieva Ulusa* (Kazan, 1979), especially pp. 299-316; to which should be added S. Muhamedyarov and I. Vásáry, "Two Kazan Tatar Edicts (Ibrahim's and Sahib Girey's Yarlıks)", *Between the Danube and the Caucasus. A Collection of Papers Concerning Oriental Sources on the History of the Peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Gy. Kara, Oriental Sources on the History of the Peoples of South-Eastern and Central Europe 4 (Budapest, 1987), pp. 181-216; and I. Vásáry, "A Contract of the Crimean Khan Mängli Girây and the Inhabitants of Qırq-yer from 1478/79", *Central Asiatic Journal* 26 (1982), pp. 289-300.

translated documents offer the best evidence of an earlier literary culture which has not survived in the original.¹

A small number of bellettristic and religious work are also connected by various scholars with Old Saray or New Saray (the successive capitals of the Golden Horde) or with some of its other cities.² These include Qutb's reworked Turkic translation of the romantic poem *Xusrev u Şirin* (dedicated to the Golden Horde xan Tınıbeg, r. 1341-2) ;³ Xwarezmi's romantic poem *Mahabbetname*;⁴ and the religious treatise *Nehc ül-feradis* (generally considered to have been written in 1358 or 1360 by one Mahmud b. Ali).⁵ Seyf-i Serayi's *Gülistan bi-t-türki* (a reworking of the Persian work by Sa'dî) falls into a somewhat different category as a work written in Mamlûk Egypt in 1391 by a native of Saray.⁶ There is also the oral literary work (*destan*)⁷ *Cümcüme sultan* (also known as the *Cümcümename*)⁸ whose relationship to the *Kesikbaş kitabı* deserves further study.⁹

¹For translations into Russian see M.D. Priselskov, *Xanskie yarlıki russkim mitropolitam* (Petrograd, 1916) ; and "Yarlıki tatarskix xanov moskovskim mitropolitam (kratkoe sobranie)", ed. A.A. Zimin, *Pamyatniki russkogo prava*, iii, (Moscow, 1955), pp. 463-491.

²For general surveys of western Eurasian Turkic literature in the 13th-14th centuries see A. Bombaci, trans. I. Mélikoff, *Histoire de la littérature turque* (Paris, 1968), pp. 90-100 ; J. Eckmann, "Die kiptschakische Literatur. I: Die Literatur von Chwarezm und der Goldenen Horde", *Philologie Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, ed. P.N. Boratav (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 275-296 ; and Z.V. Togan, "Zentralasiatische türkische Literatur. II: Die islamische Zeit", *Turkologie, Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. B. Spuler, I, v/1 (Leiden-Cologne, 1963), pp. 229-249.

³The text of the only extant manuscript (copied in Egypt) has been published by A. Zajaczkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Husrev u Şirin Qutba*, i, *Prace orientalistyczne* 6 (Warsaw, 1958) ; and M.N. Hacıeminoğlu, *Kutb'un Husrev ü Şirin'i ve dil hususiyetleri* (Istanbul, 1968). See Eckmann, "Die kiptschakische Literatur", pp. 280-285 ; and the article by G.T. Tahircanov in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i (Kazan, 1984), pp. 170-196.

⁴See Eckmann, "Die kiptschakische Literatur", pp. 285-287 ; and the article by Ş.Ş. Abilov in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i pp. 196-208.

⁵See Eckmann, "Die kiptschakische Literatur", pp. 287-291 ; and the article by Ş.Ş. Abilov in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i, pp. 208-231.

⁶The text on this work has been published by A. Bodrogligeti, *A Fourteenth Century Turkic Translation of Sa'di's Gulistan. (Seyf-i Sarāyī's Gulistan bi't-turki)* (Budapest, 1969). See Bodrogligeti's "Introduction", pp. 8-9 ; and *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i, pp. 246-273. On historical data in the *Gulistan bi-t-türki* see the "Introduction", pp. 19-20.

⁷See V.M. Jirmunskiy, *Izbrannye trudı. Tyurkskiy geroičeskiy эпос* (Leningrad, 1974) ; and N.K. Chadwick and V. Zhirmunsky, *Oral Epics of Central Asia* (Cambridge, 1969). For additional references on the Turkic *destans* see H.B. Paksoy, "Central Asia's New Dastans", *Central Asian Survey* 6:1 (1987), p. 76-92 ; idem "Chora Batır: A Tatar Admonition to Future Generations", *Studies in Comparative Communism* 19 (1986), pp. 253-265.

⁸On *Cümcüme sultan* see Eckmann, "Die kiptschakische Literatur", pp. 292-293 ; and the article by Ş.Ş. Abilov in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i, pp. 231-246.

⁹Temir ("Die alten Quellen", p. 615) and Bombaci (*Histoire*, p. 95) seem to follow M.F. Köprülü (*Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, i, Istanbul, 1926, pp. 362-364 ; and *Türk edebiyatında ilk mütaşavvıflar*, Istanbul, 1976, p. 176) in identifying *Cümcüme sultan* and *Kisekbaş* as one work. See *Kesikbaş kitabı* (Kazan Tatar *Kisekbaş kitabı*) as a neglected separate work in the article by Ya.S. Axmetgaleeva in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i, pp. 273-282 ; and her *Issledovanie tyurkoyazyčnogo pamyatnika "Kisekbaş kitabı"* (Moscow, 1979).

Yet, there is no extant work written in the 13th-14th centuries which can be called a history of the Golden Horde. As just described, a literary culture clearly existed. There was even a pre-13th century historiographical tradition in one or more of the regions of the Golden Horde which could have contributed to the further development of a historiographical tradition in the 13th-14th centuries. In the north, Volga Bulgaria had been a center of literacy, literary traditions, and even historical traditions dating back to the first millenium.¹ The literary culture of this sedentary area continued through the time of the xanate of Kazan (15th-16th centuries) as known from original works produced in the xanate itself.² For the southern area, Omeljan Pritsak reminds us that the Crimea had been a center of unbroken literary activity since classical times.³ Finally, Xwarezm and its rich literary culture also formed an integral part of the territory of the Golden Horde until the second half of the 14th century.⁴ An important question, then, is what happened to historiography in the Golden Horde?

The absence of an independent work devoted solely to the 13th-14th centuries should not be understood to mean that no historical works or historical traditions existed in this period.⁵ Instead, I would like to argue that one should look to the historical traditions of the Later Golden Horde (15th-18th centuries). In many instances, the data for the 13th-14th centuries contained in these later works can be considered the direct continuation of historical traditions from the earlier period of the Golden Horde (even though not all the states of the Later Golden Horde were directly descended from the western half of the earlier Golden Horde).⁶ Only when these different extant

¹For a survey of the literature of this period see the contributions of Ş.Ş. Abilov, G.M. Däulätšin, and N.Ş. Xisamov in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixı*, i (Kazan, 1984), pp. 84-157. For the inscriptions see D.G. Muxametšin and F.S. Xakimzyanov, *Yazık epitafiy Voljskix Bulgar* (Moscow, 1978); and *Epigrafičeskie pamyatniki Voljskoy Bulgarii i ix yazık* (Moscow, 1987).

²See Bombaci, *Histoire*, pp. 170-171; Temir, "Die alten Quellen"; Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki*, pp. 134-16; and the contributions of Ş.Ş. Abilov and F.V. Äxmätova in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixı*, i, pp. 283-321.

³"The Role of the Bosphorus Kingdom and Late Hellenism as the Basis for the Medieval Cultures of the Territories North of the Black Sea", *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, ed. A. Ascher, T. Halasi-Kun, and B.K. Király (Brooklyn, 1979), pp. 3-21.

⁴On the rich historical literature of Xwarezm see B.A. Axmedov, *Istoriko-geografičeskaya literatura Sredney Azii XVI-XVIII vv.* (Pis'mennye pamyatniki) (Tashkent, 1985).

⁵The negative judgement of Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 1-2, is based on great learning and familiarity with a wide range of sources, including those in Turkic languages. The Turkic sources for Mongol history are routinely ignored, however, by many other recent scholars, as for example in D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 5-27. A more alarming recent trend has been the complete neglect of almost all Islamic sources, as evidenced by the works of C. Halperin, including *Russia and the Golden Horde. The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History* (Bloomington, 1985); and *The Tatar Yoke*, (Columbus, 1986).

⁶Even though it has already been stated that this essay does not focus on Xwarezm, it is worth citing an example of relevant later source traditions from Xwarezm concerning the Golden Horde: Y. Bregel, "Tribal Tradition and Dynastic History: The Early Rulers of the Qongrats According to Munis", *Asian and African Studies*, 16 (1982), pp. 357-398; and Münis and Ağahî, ed. Y. Bregel, *Firdaws al-iqbal: History of Khorezm* (Leiden, 1988).

traditions are fully studied and compared can we have a better notion of the full extent of historical writing and historical traditions in the earlier Golden Horde.

Turning to the narrative sources from the 15th-18th centuries, one of the outstanding historical works from the Later Golden Horde is the *Cami üt-tevarix*, written in the xanate of Kasimov by Qadır Ali Calayir. According to the received interpretation, this unusual political unit in the service of the Russian grand duke was founded in 1452 when Vasiliy II granted Qasım b. Uluğ Muhammed the town of Gorodets (or Meşçerskiy gorodok) as an appanage.¹ The work itself, produced in 1602, begins with a condensed Tatar translation of portions of Raşîd ad-Dîn's *Cami' at-tavâriẓ*.² Familiarity with Raşîd ad-Dîn's universal history is evidence that even a state in the service of Russia could maintain a historical consciousness linking it with the earlier Çingisid states as well as the greater Turkic and Islamic cultural world. Appended to the translation of the earlier source is a series of *destans* or accounts of personalities and events from the end of the earlier Golden Horde leading up to the time of the xanate of Kasimov. It includes separate sections on the following figures, many of whom date from the 14th century (no doubt based on sources or traditions dating back to the 14th century) : Urus Xan, Toqtamış Xan, Temür Qutlu Xan and his descendants, Hacı Giray Xan, Edigey, Hacı Muhammed Xan, Abu l-Xayr Xan, Yadiğar Xan, and Uraz Muhammed Xan.³ This final section, a unique indigenous source for the xanate of Kasimov, provides valuable information on the organization and tribal composition of the xanate of Kasimov. Qadır Ali Calayir was himself *garaçı* bey of the Calayir "ruling tribe" in that xanate, and one can therefore be sure that some of the information in the source is cast from the perspective of the tribal establishment of the state (the "land"), rather than from the opposing perspective of the ruling Çingisid line.⁴

¹V.V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o kasimovskix tsaryax i tsareviçax*, i, Trudi Vostochnago otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago arxeologičeskago obščestva 9 (St. Petersburg, 1864). See also I. Vásáry, "The Hungarians or Možars and the Meščers/Mišers of the Middle Volga Region", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 1 (1975), pp. 137-275, especially pp. 264.

²The text of this work was published by N.I. Berezin, *Biblioteka vostočnix istorikov*, ii/1 : *Sbornik letopisey. Tatarskiy tekst* (Kazan, 1854). Extracts accompanied by a translation were also published by Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o kasimovskix tsaryax i tsareviçax*, ii, Trudi Vostochnago otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago arxeologičeskago obščestva 10 (St. Petersburg, 1864), p. 121 ff. For more detailed recent evaluations of this work see Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki*, pp. 33-96 ; and the article by Ş.Ş. Abilov in *Tatar üdäbiyatı tarixi*, i, pp. 333-343. Kappeler considers this source to be the unique historical work of the Turkic peoples of the Middle Volga region (*Russlands erste Nationalitäten*, p. 219).

³Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki*, pp. 74-91.

⁴On the *garaçı* beys see U. Schamiloglu, "The Qaraçı Beys of the Later Golden Horde : Notes on the Organization of the Mongol World Empire", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984), pp. 283-297 ; and "Tribal Politics and Social Organization in the Golden Horde" (Columbia University, 1986), Chapter II.

In sharp contrast to Kasimov, the only Turkic narrative source to be connected with the xanate of Kazan is a brief account relating to its conquest discovered by Zeki Velidi Togan.¹ Given the active relations between the various xanates of the Later Golden Horde (one only need recall the many figures that served as ruler in more than one xanate), it is likely they shared many of the same traditions regarding the period up to the foundation of the individual xanates. Written works could also have been shared. Usmanov speculates, for example, that the work of Raşîd ad-Dîn might have found its way to Kasimov through the xanate of Kazan.² It has also been suggested that *Cümcüme sultan*, which the Crimean xan Sahib Giray ordered translated into Turkish, may have found its way to the Crimea from Kazan.³

Given the limited number of narrative sources available for the xanates of Kasimov and Kazan, historians interested in these states should pay special attention to the Crimean xanate. The most dramatic reason for this is the rather large number of Turkic narrative sources which survive from this xanate. In addition to the *Umdet ül-ahbar*, which will be described in greater detail below, there is a series of other important works which have also been published :

— The *Es-seb üs-seyyar* was written by Seyyid Muhammed Rıza (a member of the Crimean aristocracy, d. 1756). It was edited by Mirza Kazembek in the first half of the 19th century⁴ and used by V. D. Smirnov in his history of the Crimean xanate.⁵

— The *Gülbün-i hanan* was composed in 1811 by Halim Giray Sultan (d. 1823), a Çingisid descended from Mengli Giray.⁶

¹"Kazan hanlığında İslâm Türk Kültürü", *İslâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* 3 (1959-60 [1966]), pp. 179-204 (the text is on pp. 183-194). This source is yet to be incorporated into studies of the xanate.

²Usmanov, *Tatarские исторические источники*, pp. 54-55.

³See *Tatar âdâbiyatı tarixi*, i, p. 232. Cf. Köprülü, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, i pp. 362-364 ; and *Türk edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, p. 176 ; Eckmann "Die kiptschakische Literatur", p. 293 ; Bombaci, *Histoire*, p. 95 ; and Temir, "Die alten Quellen", p. 615.

⁴*Asseb a-sseyyar 'ili sem planet* (Kazan, 1832) ; trans. M. Kazimirski and A. Jaubert, "Précis de l'histoire des khans de Crimée, depuis l'an 880 jusqu'à l'an 1198 de l'hégire", *Journal Asiatique* 12 (1833), pp. 349-380 and 428-458. See F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 281.

⁵*Krimske xanstvo pod verxovenstvom Ottomanskoy Porti do načala XVIII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1887) See pp. IX-XVI for additional details on this source. See also A.W. Fisher, "Crimean Separatism in the Ottoman Empire", *Nationalism in a Non-National State. The Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. W.W. Haddad and W. Ochsenwald (Columbus, 1977), pp. 57-76, especially p. 69.

⁶*Gülbün-i hanan, yahut Kırım tarihi*, ed. O. Cevdi (Istanbul, A.H. 1327). See Smirnov, *Krimske xanstvo*, p. XVI ff.; Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 342-343 and 379 ; and Fisher, "Crimean Separatism", pp. 58-59.

— The *Tarih-i İslam Giray Han* was written by Hacı Mehmed Senai, who flourished in the 1640s. This work was edited and translated into Polish by Z. Abrahamowicz as the *History of Islam Giray Han III*.¹

— The *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han* was written by Remmal Hoca, a physician to Sahib Giray who later entered the service of Sultan Selim II. This work, which has been made available by Ö. Gökbilgin in a transcription accompanied by a French translation, pays particular attention to the upheaval in the system of "ruling tribes" in the early Crimean xanate.²

— The *Tarih-i Said Giray Han*, a work from the 17th century which has been studied by B. Kellner-Heinkele.³

— The *Tevarih-i Deşt-i Kıpçak*, composed ca. 1638, includes a brief survey of the earlier Golden Horde as well as the later period until the early 17th century. It has been made available by A. Zajackowski together with its 18th-century French translation.⁴

Other sources include the *Telhis ül-beyan fî kavanin al-i Osman*, which was utilized by Smirnov in his history of the Crimean xanate,⁵ and the *Tarih-i Muhammed Giray Han*, which covers the period 1684-1703.⁶ Although this listing is not exhaustive, it is clear that the Crimean xanate offers a wealth of narrative historical sources to a degree simply not available for the other states of the Later Golden Horde.⁷

Let us turn now to a closer look at one of these sources, the *Umdet ül-ahbar*, and some examples of the kind of information it can offer. This work, which covers the rise of the Mongol empire and the history of the Crimean

¹*Historia Chana Islam Gereja III* (Warsaw, 1971). See Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 236 n.; Hacı Mehmed Senai/Abrahamowicz, pp. 13-15; and Fisher, "Crimean Separatism", pp. 68-69.

²*Tarih-i Şahib Giray Hân (Histoire de Sahib Giray, Khan de Crimée de 1532 à 1551)* (Ankara, 1973). See Fisher, "Crimean Separatism", p. 68; and Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate under Sahib Giray I", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3-4/i (1979-1980), pp. 445-466, especially p. 446 n. 2, on the author of this work.

³*Aus den Aufzeichnungen des Sa'id Giray Sultân. Eine Zeitgenössische Quelle zur Geschichte des Chanats der Krim um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 28 (Freiburg i. Br., 1975).

⁴*La Chronique des steppes kiptchak Tevârih-i deşt-i qipçaq du XVII^e siècle*. Edition critique, *Prace orientalistyczne* 16 (Warsaw, 1966).

⁵See Smirnov, *Krimskoe xanstvo*, pp. XXIII-XIV.

⁶See Bennigsen et al., *Le Khanat de Crimée*, p. 410-411.

⁷For other works written in the Crimea see Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *İdare-i osmaniye zamanında yetişen Kırım müellifleri* (Istanbul, A.H. 1335).

xanate, was written in Ottoman Turkish (but with some Crimean Tatar elements) by Abdülgaffar b. el-Hac Hasan b. el-Hac Mahmud b. el-Hac Abdülvehhab el-Kırımı, a member of the Crimean ulama banished from his home in A.H. 1157/1744-5 A.D.¹ One partial edition of this work, published by Necib Asım earlier this century under the title *Umdet üt-tevarih* (Istanbul, A.H. 1343/1924-5 A.D.), appeared as a supplement to the *Türk tarih encümeni mecmuası*. This edition was prepared on the basis of the manuscript of about 166 folia preserved in Istanbul in the Süleymaniye Library (Esad Efendi no. 2331).² Though the manuscript begins with a substantial section surveying the history of the earlier Islamic states, the printed edition includes only the final portion of the original work covering in detail the rise of the Mongol world empire, the Golden Horde, and the Crimean xanate. The work has not been made available in any other language.³

The *umdet ül-ahbar* is based on a wide range of Arabic, Persian, and Turkic sources for the different periods it covers.⁴ One of Abdülgaffar Kırımı's most important sources for the 13th-14th centuries was the *Tarih-i Dost Sultan*. This work, supposed to have been written in Xwarezm in the 16th century, survives in the library of Zeki Velidi Togan. (Another copy of this work is the incomplete Tashkent manuscript known as the *Ötemiş Hacı tarihi* or as the *Çingizname of Ötemiş Hacı b. Mevlana Muhammed Dost*).⁵ For the later periods, Abdülgaffar Kırımı draws on various Crimean and Ottoman sources as well as on his own first-hand knowledge.

The *Umdet ül-ahbar* has been utilized as a historical source by only a handful of scholars. For the earlier period, Berthold Spuler made use of the edition by Necib Asım in his history of the Golden Horde, though he concludes that many of the accounts in this work pertaining to the 13th-14th centuries are legendary.⁶ More recently, Mustafa Kafalı has relied on the data

¹ Abdülgaffar Kırımı/Asım, p. 5-6. See also Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 280.

² *Istanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, I. *Türkçe tarih yazmaları*, 1. *Umumi tarihler* (Istanbul, 1943), pp. 13-14.

³ I had originally begun work on a new edition and translation into English of this work, but I postponed further work on this project upon learning that M. Ürekli (Istanbul) is working on a new edition of this work and that I. Vásáry (Budapest) is working on publishing a collection of extracts of Turkic sources on the Golden Horde. Certainly it would be desirable to establish a series of publications aimed at making available in English translation the Turkic sources for the Golden Horde and the Later Golden Horde, with a special emphasis on the narrative sources.

⁴ Abdülgaffar Kırımı/Asım, p. 7-8.

⁵ See V.V. Bartol'd, "Otčet o komandirovke v Turkestan", *Soçineniya*, viii (Moscow, 1973), pp. 119-210, especially pp. 164-169; A.Z.V. Togan, *Tarihte usul* (Istanbul, 1981), pp. 44 and 224; and V.P. Yudin, "Ordî : Belaya, Sinyaya, Seraya, Zolotaya", *Kazaxstan, Srednyaya i Tsentral'naya Aziya v XVI-XVIII vv.*, ed. B.A. Tulepbaev (Alma-Ata, 1983), pp. 106-165, especially p. 121 ff.

⁶ *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 156 n. 12, 158 n. 25, and 162 n. 51.

contained in the the *Umdet ül-ahbar* as the basis of his recent work on the the Golden Horde.¹ (Both Spuler and Mustafa Kafalı were also able to consult the Togan manuscript of the *Tarih-i Dost Sultan*.) Coming to the later period, the foremost modern scholar of the various Turkic chronicles for the history of the Crimean xanate has been Halil İnalçık. He has incorporated the *Umdet ül-ahbar* and other Crimean sources in his now-classic articles on the history of the Crimean xanate, which may serve as a model for research based on the Turkic narrative histories and diplomatic correspondence preserved for this period.² Otherwise, the *Umdet ül-ahbar* has been neglected in most studies of the Golden Horde and the Later Golden Horde.³

In its survey of the history of the 13th-14th centuries, the *Umdet ül-ahbar* offers accounts of the reign of each of the rulers of the Golden Horde, sometimes in great detail. It includes descriptions of the role of the tribal nobility in the selection and elevation of the various Çingisid xan of the Golden Horde. For example, it refers to negotiations of the Golden Horde emirs with Hülegü prior to the accession of Berke Xan (r. 1255-1266):⁴

His two princes [the sons of Batu] Sarıtağ and Togan were left, but Sarıtağ then died. Since Togan was a small child, the consultation of the celebrated emirs decided at this point to inform Hülegü, one of the sons of Toluy from the party of the xan (*zümre-i kaan*). They sent him according to the habit of Mongol custom a lock of hair and a sword without a scabbard, and a shirt without a collar as though the *ulus* of Coçi had no ruler.

At the beginning of the reign of Tüde Mengü (r. 1280-1287), it is described that the emirs of the *Deşt-i Qıpçaq* had to swear an oath of fealty to him, after which they participated in the installation ceremony of ritual

¹M. Kafalı, *Altın orda hanlığının kuruluş ve yükseliş devirleri* (Istanbul, 1976), Index under "Ötemiş Hacı tarihi".

²See most notably his "Yeni vesikalara göre Kırım hanlığının Osmanlı tâbiliğine gimesi ve ahidname meselesi", *Belleten* 8 (1944), pp. 185-229; "Kırım", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vi (Istanbul, 1955), pp. 746-756; and "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate under Sahib Giray I", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3-4/i (1979-1980), pp. 445-46. For a more complete listing see the "Halil İnalçık Bibliography", *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986), pp. V-XVI.

³See now also I. Vásáry, "History and Legend' in Berke Khan's Conversion to Islam", *Aspects of Altaic Civilization III. Proceedings of the Thirtieth Meeting of the Permanent Altaic Conference*, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, June 19-25, 1987, ed. D. Sinor, Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series 145 (Bloomington, 1990), pp. 230-252. Vásáry's important article is relevant here for its treatment of passages in the *Umdet ül-ahbar* cited in this essay and their sources. Unfortunately Vásáry's article appeared too late to be taken into greater consideration in this essay.

⁴Abdülğaffar Kırımı/Asım, pp. 20-21. See now also Vásáry, "History and Legend' in Berke Khan's Conversion to Islam", pp. 243-244 and n. 38.

elevation.¹ Similar statements are made for other rulers as well, including the accession to the throne of Özbek Xan (r. 1313-1341):²

Then two notable emirs seated the xan on a (rug of) white felt according to Çingisid custom and, raising him, installed him on the throne. All the tribes came and gave the oath of fealty in groups one after the other.

The *Umdet ül-ahbar* relates other information on the rulers as well, including major source traditions on the piety of Berke³ and the conversions to Islam of Özbek Xan and Cambek.⁴

The *Umdet ül-ahbar* is notable for offering information on individuals connected with the major socio-political units ("ruling tribes") of the Golden Horde on which the traditional sources for the earlier period are usually silent. One account relating to the first half of the 13th century describes how Batu sent Şiban with 30,000 soldiers and Bor Altay of the Taraqlı Qıyat as his *atalıq* against Mankup in the Crimea:⁵

In the province of the Crimea there were all sorts of different peoples, but most of them were Genoese infidels, and from among the Tatars there were also some people called the As. These soldiers attacked the fortress called Mankup, but the aforementioned fortress was very strong. Since it was (situated) on very steep mountains and its conquest was not an easy matter, they entered it by ruse. He ordered that each of the soldiers should take two stirrups in his hands apiece and begin beating them together. Such a frightful clamor issued forth that those who heard it were amazed. They did not cease this tumult for a whole month and they refrained from fighting. The infidels of the fortress heard this melodic noise and they were ready to neglect the defense and protection of the ramparts of the fortress. Following this manner of deception, with the rest of his troops not stopping their clamor, he selected four-five thousand brave and courageous young men and appointed Bor Altay bey as commander-in-chief. In the middle of the night they advanced well concealed. The As infidels were surprised and did not find a place of refuge, and the fortress was captured, they say.⁶

¹ Abdülgaflar Kırımı/Asım, pp. 26-27.

² Abdülgaflar Kırımı/Asım, pp. 34-35.

³ Abdülgaflar Kırımı/Asım, pp. 21-24. See now also Vásáry, "'History and Legend' in Berke Khan's Conversion to Islam".

⁴ Abdülgaflar Kırımı/Asım, p. 35-38.

⁵ Abdülgaflar Kırımı/Asım, pp. 19-20.

⁶ Cf. A.A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 162-164.

This is just one example in which an individual is described as having a specific tribal affiliation, and there are other references to individuals connected with the Qanlı, the Sicivut, and especially the Qıyat.¹ In another example, the 14th-century figure Mamay is called the nephew of Qıyat Astay bey of the right flank.²

The most important of the socio-political units functioning as a "ruling tribe" in the various xanates of the Later Golden Horde was the Şirin. The Şirin remained throughout the history of the Crimea the dominant among the four (later five) "ruling tribes" of the xanate up until the Russian annexation of the Crimea at the end of the 18th century. Even when Şahin Giray intended to streamline and centralize his administration in the 1770s by downgrading the role of the *qaraçı* beys (whose role in electing the Çingisid xan is identical with that of the *qurultays* in the earlier period) by usurping for himself the power of designating his successor, he could not fully ignore the importance of the Şirin and the Mansurs (earlier known as the Mangits).³ Abdülgaŋfar Kırımı, who was a strong partisan of the Şirin "ruling tribe", depicts the Şirin "ruling tribe" defending the interests of the "land" against the interests of the Çingisid Giray dynasty throughout the history of the Crimean xanate. As such, the *Umdet ül-ahbar* is the history of the Şirin in the Crimea, offering information which is particularly valuable for the origins and later history of the leadership of the Şirin "ruling tribe". It states, for example, that the Şirin are descended from a particular branch of the As with a *çömüç* brand or *tamğa*.⁴ This is a unique statement in the sources regarding the origin of this most important socio-political unit in the states of the Later Golden Horde. By the expression *As kabilesi* it is not clear, however, whether it is meant that they are therefore descended from the Iranian Alans of the medieval Pontic steppe (there is certainly no other "ruling tribe" with a similar origin) or that the name has a geographical connotation.⁵

¹ Many of these individuals and "ruling tribes" can be found listed in Kafalı, *Altın orda hanlığı*, pp. 36-47.

² Abdülgaŋfar Kırımı/Asım, p. 40.

³ See A.W. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford, 1978), pp. 62-65.

⁴ Abdülgaŋfar Kırımı/Asım, pp. 46 and 194.

⁵ Kafalı (*Altın orda hanlığı*, p. 39) is at a similar loss to explain this passage. On the Alans/As see Barthold, W., and Minorsky, V., "Alān", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2 (Leiden, 1960), p. 354 ; Yu. S. Gagloyti, "Etnogenez osetin po dannim pis'mennix istočnikov", *Proisxoždenie osetinskogo naroda. Materiali naučnoy sessii, posvyasçennoy probleme etnogeneza osetin* (Ordjonikidze, 1967), pp. 67-97 ; and P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies. An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, i-ii, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 25 (Budapest, 1980), i, pp. 93-97.

The *Umdet ül-ahbar* describes the leaders of the Şirin, Barın, Arğın and Qıpçaq as joining Toqtamış as his *has nökere* or "special companions".¹ From this period on it is a rich source for following the earliest leaders of the Şirin in the Crimea. The first Şirin leader to cooperate with Toqtamış was Örek Temür b. Dangu bey, whose son Tegine was just as important in the *Deşt-i Qıpçaq* (or Kipchak steppe) as his rival, the Mangıt leader Edigü. Beyond the genealogical information contained in the narrative itself, there is a separate genealogical appendix at the end of this work.² Thus, the *Umdet ül-ahbar* is indispensable for understanding the greater socio-political and cultural unity beginning with the Golden Horde itself and continuing through the time of the component states constituting the Later Golden Horde.

It is only with the help of the *Umdet ül-ahbar* that it is possible to understand that these later states continued certain earlier Çingisid traditions, the most outstanding of which was the Çingisid system of state organization. In this pattern of state organization which I have termed the "four-bey system", four socio-political units shared fully in the governing of the state. The leaders of these four "ruling tribes" were collectively known as the four *qaraçı* beys; their direct predecessors in the earlier Golden Horde were known as the *ulus* beys. Another well-known passage in the *Umdet ül-ahbar* describes the functioning of this system of government.³ I have published a translation of this passage elsewhere and have argued that this description is, in fact, the key which allows us to piece together and reinterpret partial account of state organization found in diverse sources for the 13th-14th centuries as well.⁴

There are many questions regarding the history of both the earlier Golden Horde, the Crimean xanate itself, and even the other xanates of the Later Golden Horde to whose discussion the *Umdet ül-ahbar* makes a contribution beyond these few illustrative examples. Of course, I do not insist

¹ Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 45-48. Inalcik connects the *ulus* beys and the *qaraçı* beys with the term *nöker* ("The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", pp. 451-452).

² Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, pp. 15 ff. and 200 ff. For a discussion of this information see Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", pp. 454 and n. 24. See also B.F. Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate, 1466-1532", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, (1978), pp. 282-309, which is an attempt to reconstruct the genealogy of the Şirin leaders based exclusively on Muscovite and eastern European sources. Such an approach, however, does not allow one to take the line any further back than Tegine.

³ Abdülgaffar Kırımi/Asım, p. 13 ff. A portion of this passage is also paralleled in the *Gülbün-i hanan* (Halim Giray Sultan/Cevdi, p. 40).

⁴ See "The *Qaraçı* Beys", pp. 284-285. For an elaboration of this theme see also my "Tribal Politics and Social Organization in the Golden Horde". In the meantime I would like to acknowledge Prof. Inalcik's suggestion regarding my earlier translation that *emr-i azim* should be translated as a "glorious matter" rather than as a "glorious order".

that all of the information in this work is to be corroborated by information in other sources. Nevertheless, this work and the other Turkic narrative sources from the later period represent a contribution to the preservation of historical traditions from the 13th-14th centuries about which sometimes very little else is known. Some of these tradition survive exclusively through works written in Xwarezm, others survive through works written in the xanates of the Later Golden Horde, and some survive as oral traditions, a topic which I have not even considered in this essay. Taken together, however, they represent what survives of the indigenous historical traditions of the Golden Horde. It may be premature to offer a bold new hypothesis on the state of historiography in the Golden Horde. It is not too soon, however, to insist that the study of the Turkic narrative sources mentioned in this essay is essential for any study of the history of western Eurasia in the period of the Golden Horde as well as in the period of the Later Golden Horde.

U. S.

THE LEGACY OF ULUGH BEG

Kevin Krisciunas¹

Muhammed Taragai Ulugh Beg (1394-1449) was a Turk who ruled the province of Transoxiana (Maverannakhr), a region situated between the River Oxus (Amu Darya) and the River Jaxartes (Syr Darya), the principal city of which was Samarkand. Ulugh Beg's grandfather was the famous conqueror Timur (1336-1405). Ulugh Beg became the ruler of Transoxiana in 1447 upon the death of his father. But his rule was of short duration. Two years later he was killed by an assassin hired by his son 'Abd al Latif.

Were it only for his role as prince, viceroy, and martyr, few scholars would know of Ulugh Beg. But his memory lives on because he was an observatory builder, patron of astronomy, and astronomer in his own right. He was certainly the most important observational astronomer of the 15th century. He was one of the first to advocate and build permanently mounted astronomical instruments. His catalogue of 1018 stars (some sources count 1022) was the only such undertaking carried out between the times of Claudius Ptolemy (ca. 170 A.D.) and Tycho Brahe (ca. 1600). And, as we shall briefly discuss here, his attitude towards scientific endeavors was surprisingly modern.

The administration of Transoxiana was the responsibility of Ulugh Beg's father for most of Ulugh Beg's life. The prince had the opportunity (and the inclination) to pursue scholarly matters. His interest in astronomy dates from an early age, when he visited the remains of the Maragha Observatory, made famous by the astronomer Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (1201-74). The principal accomplishment at Maragha was the *Zij-i ilkhani*, or Ilkhanic Tables.²

A principal source of our information about the astronomical activity at Samarkand is a letter of one Ghiyath al-Din Jamshid al-Kashi (d. 1429), which is available in Turkish and English (see Sayili 1960). This letter, originally in Persian, was written in 1421 or 1422. From it we deduce that

¹Member, International Astronomical Union, Commission 41 (History of Astronomy).

²A *zīj* is an astronomical treatise that usually contains tables for calculating the positions of the Sun, Moon, and planets. It might also contain a star catalogue.

serious astronomical activity began in Samarkand in 1408-10, and that the construction of Ulugh Beg's observatory was begun in 1420. Among the astronomers known to have been active at Samarkand, we know only a few by name, but according to al-Kashi there were sixty or seventy scholars at the madrasa who were well enough versed in mathematics to participate in some capacity in the astronomical observations and/or seminars.

The observations were carried out systematically from 1420 to 1437. While observatories today are expected to carry on indefinitely, this was not the case in olden times. Rather, observations were carried out, for example, to update tables of planetary motions in order to predict their future positions. Al-Kashi tells us (see Sayili 1960, p. 106);

As to the inquiry of those who ask why observations are not completed in one year but require ten or fifteen years, the situation is such that there are certain conditions suited to the determination of matters pertaining to the planets, and it is necessary to observe them when these conditions obtain. It is necessary, e.g., to have two eclipses in both of which the eclipsed parts are equal and to the same side, and both these eclipses have to take place near the same node. Like-wise, another pair of eclipses conforming to other specifications is needed, and still other cases of a similar nature are required. It is necessary to observe Mercury at a time when it is at its maximum morning elongation and once at its maximum evening elongation, with the addition of certain other conditions, and a similar situation exists for the other planets. Now, all these circumstances do not obtain within a single year, so that observations cannot be made in one year. It is necessary to wait until the required circumstances obtain and then if there is cloud at the awaited time, the opportunity will be lost and gone for another year or two until the like of it occurs once more. In this manner there is need for ten or fifteen years.

One might add that because it takes Saturn 29 years to return to the same position amongst the stars (that being its period of revolution about the Sun), a period of 29 years might have been the projected length of the Samarkand program of observations.

A number of instruments were used for the observations of the planets and for determining the relative positions of the stars.¹ The largest instrument in Samarkand was the so-called *Fakhri* sextant. It was a 60-degree stone arc

¹For a discussion of the astronomical instrumentation, see Sedillot (1841), Repsold (1908), and Krisciunas (1988, chapter 2). Note that the telescope was only first used for astronomical purposes in 1609.

mounted on the north-south meridian line. Such an instrument was used to determine the transit altitudes of stars (i.e. their maximum angular distances above the horizon). From the most southern and northern positions of the Sun, observed over the course of a year, one can easily determine the obliquity of the ecliptic (i.e. the tilt of the Earth's axis of rotation with respect to the plane of its orbit). The mean of these extrema, or the meridian altitude of the Sun at the moment of the vernal or autumnal equinox allows one (by definition) to determine one's latitude.¹ According to Ulugh Beg the obliquity of the ecliptic was $23^{\circ} 30' 17''$ (differing by only $32''$ from the true value for his time). His value for the latitude of Samarkand was $39^{\circ} 37' 33''$.

Now, to the reader unaccustomed to astronomical topics, these might seem like just numbers, the accuracy of which may mean nothing. The most interesting thing about the *Fakhri* sextant in Samarkand was that its radius was 40 meters! (This is very nearly equal to the height of the dome of the 200-inch reflector at Palomar Mountain, California.) The *Fakhri* sextant was by far the largest meridian instrument ever built. It could achieve a resolution of a several seconds of arc — on the order of a six-hundredth of a degree, or the diameter of an American penny at a distance of more than half a kilometer.

Because the *Fakhri* sextant was an arc fixed on the meridian, it could only be used for determining the declinations of celestial bodies. (This being before the invention of accurate clocks, it could not be used for the determinations of relative right ascensions.) Because it was a 60-degree arc, it could not be used to observe stars along the full north-south meridian. Thus, it could not be used, say, to determine the angular separations of pairs of stars, or for observing stars near the northern or southern horizons. Consequently, other observational instruments were used at Samarkand, among them parallactical lineals and equinoctial and solstitial armillary spheres. These were made of metal and wood and were on the order of 1 meter in size. Hand held astrolabes are not to be included in this list because they were "star finders" and were used for time determination, rather than for the accurate determination of stellar or planetary positions.

Typically, two people were required to make individual observations at any given time. At Samarkand it was the practice for a larger number of people to discuss the results. In modern terms, this is like peer review, the purpose of which is to eliminate sources of error and to ensure the health of the observational program. Ulugh Beg himself.

¹Strictly speaking, one must also account for atmospheric refraction. For a review of astronomical coordinate systems see Krisciunas (1988, chapter 1).

has allowed that in scientific questions there should be no agreeing until the matter is thoroughly understood and that people should not pretend to understand in order to be pleasing. Occasionally, when someone assented to His Majesty's view out of submission to his authority, His Majesty reprimanded him by saying 'you are imputing ignorance to me.' He also poses a false question, so that if anyone accepts it out of politeness he will reintroduce the matter and put the man to shame.¹

The foreword to Ulugh Beg's *Zij* contains four parts: 1) the chronology, describing various systems of time reckoning; 2) practical astronomy (how observations are made and used); 3) the apparent motions of the Sun, Moon, and planets, based on a geocentric system of the universe; and 4) astrology.

Besides the tables of motions of the Sun, Moon, and planets, Ulugh Beg's *Zij* was significant for its catalogue of about 1000 stars, giving their names and ecliptic coordinates. In an appendix to this paper I give a list of published works that contain all or part of Ulugh Beg's *Zij*². In Flamsteed's *Historia Coelestis Britannica* (1725) and Baily's 1843 treatise we can directly compare Ulugh Beg's positions with those of Ptolemy, Tycho Brahé, and others. Within modern stellar positions, proper motions, and an accurate treatment of precession, it would be interesting to make a statistical analysis of, say, the 100 brightest stars, to see how these catalogues compare as to average accuracy.³

In *The Observatory in Islam*, Sayili concludes (pp. 391, 393) by stating:

The observatory as an organized and specialized institution was born in Islam; it went through very important stages of evolution within Islam itself; it passed on in a rather highly developed state to Europe, and this was followed, shortly afterwards, by the creation of modern observatories of Europe, in an unbroken process of evolution superposing upon the traditions borrowed from Eastern Islam... The question is of significance... in the case of the Samarqand Observatory because it appears as probably the most important Islamic observatory from the standpoint of influences exerted upon Europe.

¹Sayili (1960, pp. 109-110).

²The appendix is largely based on information found in Shecheglov (1968; 1979) and in the *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints*. I thank Paul Luther for additional information.

³Vogt (1925) found 22' for the average error of 122 Ptolemaic celestial latitudes. The best of Tycho's stellar positional measures are good to 1'. See Dreyer (1890, pp. 387-8), Wesley (1978), and Thoren (1990, pp. 287-299, and references therein).

I can accept the first half of Sayili's perspective. The astronomical programs carried out at Baghdad (9th century), Cordova (10th century), Cairo (10th to 12th centuries), Toledo (11th century), Castile (under the Christian king Alfonso X; 13th century), Maragha (13th century), and at Samarkand (15th century), were far more extensive than anything carried out by the ancient Greeks, with the possible exception of Hipparchus. The Arabs honored learning and kept alive the study of astronomy by preserving Ptolemy's *Almagest* and adding to its mathematical formulation. The Ma'munic, Hakemite, Toledan, Ilkhanic and Alphonsine Tables, along with the tables contained in Ulugh Beg's *Zij* have come down to us because scholars knew they were important. But the influence of the Samarkand Observatory on European astronomy was more indirect than direct. While copies of Ulugh Beg's *Zij* existed in various libraries such as Oxford and Paris not long after its composition (see Razvi 1985), it only became known in Europe in the mid-17th century, nearly five decades after the publication of Tycho Brahé's much more accurate data (see appendix to this paper).

If the activities in Samarkand influenced European ones, why does Ulugh Beg only get cursory mention (on pp. 328 and 347, but not in the index) of Dreyer's classic 1890 biography of Tycho Brahé? In Thoren's even more authoritative 1990 biography of Tycho there is no mention of Ulugh Beg at all. It was work such as Tycho's, not Ulugh Beg's, that led in turn to the efforts at Greenwich (founded 1675), Pulkovo (founded 1839), and the United States Naval Observatory (founded 1844), among other institutions, and these modern, national, facilities did not need or use Ulugh Beg's work as a fundamental component of the construction of accurate star catalogues. Yet, to be fair, astronomers and historians have found many uses for ancient and medieval observations, such as studies of the spin down rate of the Earth, studies of the motion of the Moon and planets, and the dating of historical events. Ulugh Beg's observations being the best of their century allow them to stand as a permanent observational archive for our benefit. For example, Shcheglov (1977) has recently used information from the modern excavation of Ulugh Beg's large meridian instrument for a study of continental drift.

The most direct influence of the Samarkand Observatory was on the construction of the five observatories, or *Jantar Mantars*, built by Maharajah Jai Singh (1686-1743) in India. Jai Singh was a Hindu prince in the court of a Muslim Mogul emperor. These observatories were built at New Delhi, Ujjain, Mathura, Varanasi, and Jaipur. The largest instrument was 27 meters high. For more information see Kaye (1918), Mayer (1979), Sharma (1987), and Bedding (1991).

While recognition of Ulugh Beg's contributions to astronomy was delayed, an extensive body of information now exists on the activity of his observatory in Samarkand. We now know that at the time Ulugh Beg's observatory flourished it was carrying out the most advanced observations and analysis being done anywhere. In the 1420's and 1430's Samarkand was the astronomical capital of the world. As such it is deserving of further study.

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1648. John Greaves (1602-1652). *Binae Tabulae Geographicae, una Nassir Eddini Persae, altera Vlug Beigi Tatari: Opera et Studio J. Gravii*. Lugduni, Batavorum. Geographical tables of the *Zij*.

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K. K.

NASIHATLAR (ADMONITIONS) OF ABBAS KULU AGHA BAKIKHANLI

Audrey L. Altstadt

*Dedicated to the 200th Anniversary of
the Birth of Abbas Kulu Agha Bakikhanli*

Nasihatlar (*Admonitions*) is a short work comprising laconic and simply stated moral "lessons" written for young people. It was composed by Abbas Kulu Agha Bakikhanli (1794-1846) [Bakikhanov in Russian sources] in 1836. Bakikhanli was an historian, philosopher, pedagogue and translator. His work *Nasihatlar*, like the author himself, has received only sporadic attention under Russian/Soviet rule and is virtually unknown in the West.

The present chapter presents an examination of the work and the author, set in historical context, and includes a complete translation of *Nasihatlar* based on three recently published texts (in both Turkish and Russian).¹

Nasihatlar, despite its brevity and long years of obscurity, is an important work in the history of Azerbaijan's cultural evolution. It is an articulation, in compact form, of society's values — those values held in such high esteem that they were deemed essential to pass on to future generations by inculcating them from earliest childhood. Bakikhanli emphasized the use of intellect and rational thought, the acquisition of knowledge, honesty, justice and moderation. Bakikhanli, in *Nasihatlar*, has left the earliest record of such moral admonitions of Azerbaijan² after the Russian conquest. They constitute a reassertion of societal values in the face of conquest by a power that shared neither language, history nor cultural traditions.

¹The two volumes in which the texts appear are Abbasquluaga Bakykhanov Gudsı, *Nasihatlar* (Translation [sic] and Introduction by Memmedaga Sultanov) (Baku: Yaziji, 1982); and Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences, A. K. Bakikhanov; *Sochineniia, Zapiski, Pis'ma*. (Baku: Elm, 1983), pp. 104-112.

²The name Azerbaijan is used here for the sake of clarity and uniformity, but it was not applied to eastern Caucasia in this time period. Historically the term had been applied only to what is now "Iranian Azerbaijan." It was not applied to the area north of the Russo-Iranian border (set at the Aras River by treaties in 1813 and 1828) until the late 19th or early 20th century. The northern region had been called Shirvan, Arran, Albania. On the history of the area and these names, see entries under "Adarbayjan," "Baku," and "Sharwan" in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

Bakikhanli's ideas are all the more worthy of study because of the greater role he strove to play — and, unknown to himself, did play — in shaping the education of future generations of Azerbaijani Turks. He wrote extensively on education, both its moral foundations and practical execution. *Nasihatlär* is, in fact, distilled from the key arguments presented in Bakikhanli's treatise "Moral Education" (*Tahzib al-Ahlak*), written 1832-33. Bakikhanli also wrote a detailed plan for establishing a school for local boys in Baku.

Bakikhanli's school project, although not published in his lifetime, provided a model for other educators. The proposal in which he outlined the project was apparently usurped by tsarist bureaucrats, altered, and put into effect in a form that suited the needs of the tsarist system rather than the indigenous population. The plan served as the basis for more than seven decades of debate on education reform and even constituted the basis — again in distorted form — for Soviet-era education policy. Bakikhanli's legacy is thus imbedded in contemporary policy, which is itself an unwitting, silent tribute to his thought and work.

The focal point of the present chapter is the translation and analysis of three published texts of Bakikhanli's *Nasihatlär*. The discussion begins with some remarks on Bakikhanli himself, the political and intellectual climate in which he wrote *Nasihatlär*, and the work in which he further elaborated those ideas expressed in *Nasihatlär*. These sections are followed by a comparison of the three published texts and of the messages contained therein. Parallels to other Central Asian work are considered. The chapter ends with a composite translation of the text based on the three published versions.

ABBAS KULU AGHA BAKIKHANLI

Bakikhanli was born on 21 June (3 July by the Gregorian calendar) 1794 in the village of Amirjan, just outside the town of Baku. He was the son of the khan of Baku, Mirza Muhammad Khan II. During the decade of his birth, the struggle for Caucasia between the expanding Russian Empire and the new Qajar dynasty in Iran was beginning. The Russian conquest would take place in the following decade. Mirza Muhammad Khan had apparently been unseated because of some regional conflict, and, as a result, went over to

the Russians.¹ His six sons subsequently entered Russian service, in the military or, like Abbas Kulu Agha, as translators.²

Bakikhanli entered Russian service in 1819-20, reportedly after 20 years of orthodox Islamic education in *Shari'a*, Persian and Arabic languages and literatures, Islamic texts. Since he served for most of the following 25 years as translator of Oriental Languages, however, he must have learned Russian as well. He acted as translator in Russian relations with Daghestan, in the negotiations with Iran of the Treaty of Turkmanchai (1828), in the demarcation of the Russo-Iranian border and other diplomatic assignments.

During his years in tsarist service, especially during a prolonged leave of absence in the 1830s, Bakikhanli also wrote numerous works of philosophy, history (including histories of Baku and Derbend), astronomy, mathematics, pedagogy — even a Persian grammar. He wrote many literary works including much poetry. He wrote most often in Persian and Arabic and apparently less in Turkish (in which he wrote a number of satirical pieces and poetry). The reason for this is given by Bakikhanli himself³ — the spoken Turkish dialect of Azerbaijan (probably Bakikhanli's mother tongue) was at that time not used as a scholarly or literary language in Azerbaijan. The effort to establish the spoken Turkish vernacular (as opposed to Ottoman, which was then full of Persian and Arabic loans words and grammatical constructions) as a literary language in Azerbaijan was launched in Bakikhanli's lifetime by his countryman Mirza Fath Ali Akhonzade (1812-1878).

Between 1835 and 1842, Bakikhanli left active service, took up residence near Kuba and devoted himself primarily to his scholarship, although he apparently also wrote several reports for the local administration.⁴ In 1837, he wrote a report on an uprising that year in Kuba against the Russian levy of

¹This was not unusual and the Russian conquest was facilitated (and rendered more complex) by the internal struggles among the khans. On this topic, see Muriel Atkin, *Russia and Iran 1780-1828* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 1980), Chapters 2 and 5.

²Bakikhanov *Sochineniia*, p. 9.

³His comments were made as part of his school project, discussed below, cited in *ibid.*, p. 252.

⁴During the first year, at the request of the "committee for the organization of the Muslim clergy" of Tiflis, he wrote a history of the *Shari'a* courts in the period of the khanates. This was apparently in preparation for establishment of the Ecclesiastical Board established in the 1840s in Tiflis. The Board in Tiflis was very much like the one in Orenburg. On the Ecclesiastical Board of the Caucasus see this writer's "The Forgotten Factor: The Shi'i Mullahs of Prerevolutionary Baku," in *Passé Turco-Tatar, Présent Soviétique; Etudes offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen*, Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, G. Veinstein, S. E. Wimbush, editors. (Paris, 1986).

local men for service in Warsaw.¹ Apparently, he protested the government's handling of the incident.²

In 1841, after years of research, Bakikhanli completed his history of Azerbaijan, *Gulistan-i Iram* (Garden of Paradise). He translated it into Russian (from the original Persian) in 1842 under the title *Istoriia vostochoi chasti Kavkaza* (History of the Eastern Caucasus).

After his recall to service, just as Caucasia was being placed under civil rather than military rule, Bakikhanli was asked to write a report on the political structure of the former khanates. This report explained the rights and privileges of the khans, described the national and tribal composition of the population and included other useful information.³

Bakikhanli made the *hajj* (to Mecca) in 1846. He died of cholera in the winter of 1846-47 (possibly in December 1846 or February 1847) in Arabia while returning.⁴

POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE

The 1830s, during which Bakikhanli wrote *Nasihattlar*, was a dynamic period in the history of Azerbaijan and the Russian Empire. Nicholas I was, in many respects, at the height of power. He had survived his succession crisis, putting down the Decembrists in 1825, and had suppressed the Polish Rebellion in 1830-31. The Doctrine of Official Nationality, enshrining Autocracy, Orthodoxy and Nationality, was formulated and embraced in the mid 1830s. The dissident literary and political circles in St. Petersburg would be few and relatively powerless until the middle of the following decade.

In Europe, Nicholas' Russia represented the might of autocracy and stood as a bulwark against revolutionary change. It was a major guarantor of the Congress of Vienna and its hallowed principles of legitimacy and Great Power "balance." On the Asian fronts, the Empire's forces had defeated the Ottomans and Iran in the late 1820s. The Treaty of Turkmanchai (1828) had

¹Bakikhanov *Sochineniia*, pp. 16-17.

²A. I. Guseinov, et. al. *Istoriia Azerbaidzhana*, (Baku, 1958-63) in 3 vols. Vol II: 103-4.

³Bakikhanov *Sochineniia*, p. 17. The report was apparently first published in *Kolonial'naia politika Rossiiskogo tsarizma v Azerbaidzhane v 20-60- gg. XIX v.* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936), 2 volumes. The text gives no more specific citation.

⁴Bakikhanov *Sochineniia*, p. 13 gives the earlier date, Guseinov, II: 104 gives the later.

given the Russian Empire sweeping and intrusive privileges in Iran, including exemption of its subjects from Iranian law and of Russian goods from internal tariffs. The British would not gain similar privileges until 1841.¹ In short, this was a time of relatively free and overt exercise of Russian power in the political and cultural realm.

One of the few places which defied Russian power, however, was the Caucasus. Noteworthy for its violence and duration was the continuing resistance in the Caucasus Mountains led by Sheikh Shamil. This movement, would not be subdued until the time of the Crimean War. In September 1837, Kuba, just south of Daghestan, briefly rose up to protest the levy of horsemen for duty in Warsaw.² Other types of resistance were also manifested.³ Nonetheless, the tsarist government continued to press its policies in Caucasia.

There had been numerous administrative changes in Caucasia (officially the "Transcaucasian krai" (region) such as adjustments of boundaries and appointments of former khans to govern them in the name of the Russian administration in Tiflis. Bakikhanli's own father had been given the administration of several settlements in the new Kuba province in 1824.⁴

Early in the 1830s, some within official circles had decided that Caucasia ought to be placed under civilian rule, that is, to undergo direct administrative incorporation into the Empire. One commission, under Senators P. I. Kutaisov and E. I. Mechnikov suggested that the Transcaucasian krai could be put to best use by "forcing the residents there to speak, think and feel in Russian [*po-russkii*" - lit: "Russian-like"]. Their plan included the idea of "illuminating the residents of the region with the rays of the Orthodox faith and establishing the living cross on the ruins of Islam."⁵

¹I allude here only to a few significant events. One good source for Russian foreign policy in the 19th century is Hugh Seton-Watson, *The Russian Empire 1801-1917* (Oxford, 1967); On the Asian frontiers, see Atkin (cited above) and Edward Ingram, *The Beginning of the Great Game in Asia, 1828-1834* (Oxford, 1979).

²Bakikhanli's report on the affair is published in *Bakikhanov Sochineniia*, pp. 148-150.

³See the present writer's "Azerbaijani Turks' Resistance to Russian Conquest," in *Studies in Comparative Communism*, XIX, Nos 3/4 (Fall-Winter 1986).

⁴*Bakikhanov Sochineniia*, p. 89.

⁵Quoted in *Bakikhanov Sochineniia*, p. 6, citing *Kolonial'naia politika rossiiskogo tsarizma v Azerbaidzhane v 20-60kh gg. XIX. v*, Vol I, p. 280.

The Doctrine of Official Nationality reinforced and gave official legitimation to this colonial policy of Russification and Christianization. The goals were often pursued simultaneously. Missionaries, for example, established schools to teach both Christianity and Russian language. Missionary work continued throughout the period of tsarist rule,¹ but it had virtually no success.

Slightly more successful was the system of "Russian-native" schools which would dot Central Asia² by the turn of the next century. The first so-called "Russian-Tatar"³ schools in the eastern provinces of Caucasia (present-day Azerbaijan SSR) were created in the early 1830s: 1830 in Shusha, 1831 in Nukha, 1832 in Baku, 1833 in Ganje and then in 1837 in Shemakhi and Nakhjavan.⁴

These schools introduced Russian language and used it as the language of instruction for more than half the courses — mathematics, accounting, history, geography and Russian law. Their object was to train Azerbaijani Turks for careers in the civil bureaucracy or even the military. Although no indigenous students completed the course of instruction during the first 20 years of these schools' existence⁵, they were funded and supported by the state and they did proliferate.⁶

In the face of these threats to traditional culture and values, Bakikhanli's moral *Admonitions* seem no less an act of defiance than his protest of the official handling of the 1837 Kuba uprising.⁷

¹Both contemporary and early Soviet-period publications refer to Orthodox missionary activity in the Caucasus, despite the long-standing belief by some scholars that there was none.

²The term Central Asia is used here as defined in the Introduction to the volume. Azerbaijan is therefore included as part of a single cultural, linguistic, ethnic era.

³"Tatar" in the usage of the Russian Empire referred to settled Turkic speakers, in this case the Azerbaijani Turks.

⁴Guseinov, et. al. II: 100.

⁵N. Tairzade, "O musul'manskikh uchilishchakh v Azerbaidzhane v kontse 40-x v 50-e gody XIX v." in *Azerbaijan tarikhine dair materiallar*, vol 5 in Series "Azerbaijan tarikhii muzeyinin eserleri", (Baku, 1962). This same pattern, of few students completing a 4-year course of study, was noted for urban elementary schools in later imperial period, according to Christine Ruane, "Life in the Classroom: Urban Primary Schools on St. Petersburg and Moscow," paper delivered at annual meeting of the American Assoc. for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, November 1987.

⁶The present work on Bakikhanli is only a part of a larger research project on education in Central Asia under Russian rule. See also Note 13 above.

⁷Bakikhanli, when residing in Kuba during the 1837 uprising there, wrote advice to the administration in Tiflis, concerning the nature of the discontent, (*Bakikhanov Sochineniia*, pp. 148-150). Guseinov, II:82-84, 104 describes the progress of the uprising and (p. 104) states Bakikhanli was defending the rights of beys. This charge is not sustained by the report itself.

Indeed, *Nasihatlar* represents a more fundamental protest than that against one isolated incident because that small book constitutes an attack upon a policy and a mode of thought. It strives to defend Azerbaijani Turks from a powerful regime's zealous efforts to Russify and Christianize.

The ideas expressed in *Nasihatlar* are more fully elaborated in Bakikhanli's *Tahzib al-Ahlak* and in his plan for the establishment of a school for local children under his own direction. Both works were written the same years the first Russian-Tatar school opened in Baku. It is helpful to look briefly at the main points of these before turning to *Nasihatlar*.

BAKIKHANLI'S *TAHZIB AL-AHLAK* (MORAL EDUCATION) AND SCHOOL PROJECT

Tahzib al-Ahlak comprises twelve chapters, an introduction ("Philosophy") and a conclusion ("On the Secrets of Enlightenment"). Among the twelve chapters are "Observance of Moderation" (Chapter I), "On the Excellence of Good Works," (Chapter II), "On the Rules of Social Intercourse," (Chapter VIII, the longest), "On the Principles of Humility," (Chapter IX), "On the Extolling of Conscientiousness," (Chapter X) and "On the Advantages of Being Satisfied with Little" (Chapter XI). This treatise constitutes the full elaboration of the ideas embodied in the laconic *Nasihatlar*.

This treatise, like *Nasihatlar*, emphasizes the importance of rational thought. The Introduction, titled "Philosophy," bears the same message as the introductory passage to *Nasihatlar* — that humans can think and choose, a facility that distinguishes humankind from lower animals. Without rational inquiry, Bakikhanli adds in *Tahzib al-Ahlak*, one cannot choose or decide on a course of action.¹ Throughout this work, Bakikhanli emphasizes the importance of human choice, the use of one's intellect, and truthfulness. As in *Nasihatlar*, he discusses the importance of friendship, urges caution toward enemies and warns against bad company. He extols the virtue of listening more than talking, of being content with few material possessions, of self control and self examination, and the need to improve one's self by application of conscientiousness and moral principles.

¹"Vospitanie Nравstvennosti," is the Russian translation of *Tahzib al-Ahlak*, in *Bakikhanov Sochineniia*, pp. 62-104.

Bakikhanli's "Project for the Establishment of a Muslim School," was presented to the High Commissioner of Caucasia, Baron Rosen on 20 February, 1832.¹

Bakikhanli's project reflects both his understanding of the need to appeal to the government and his own goals to educate Azerbaijani Turks. He begins with an obligatory statement of the benign objective of the empire which has "taken the Transcaucasian region under its protection..." He follows this with several reasons why the education of the newly acquired population is in the interest of the empire:

"... it is impossible to attach people to yourself by superfluous condescension and rewards. if in them [the people] there is no attachment to the order of things which is being introduced. Although personal profit may attract them at some times, still there is no doubt, that at the first appearance of [appropriate] circumstances, they will wholeheartedly return to their former way of thinking... the more widely education is disseminated among them, the more the government will acquire people well disposed [toward it], who will facilitate the spread among the populace of the benevolent intentions of the government concerning the general welfare... [and] their prosperity... [will] serve in Asia as an eternal monument of the glory of the great Russian monarch."

In his justification for this project, as in *Nasihatlär*, Bakikhanli sounds the theme of intellect and understanding. He notes that the local people "suppose that chance or fate elevated Europe and gave it that strength or might by means of which it acquired unchallenged primacy." Education, he states, will be the key to improved social conditions and general contentment of the populace.

As for the proposal itself, it comprises eleven detailed items discussing the intended location of the school (Baku), students and their living conditions, course of study, teachers, guards and servants (for those resident at the school), books and other supplies, and even a discussion of what the students may do upon completion of the three-year program.

¹The text is found on pp. 251-254 of *Bakikhanov Sochineniia*. According to the notes (p. 313) this project was "presented by Bakikhanli to the high commissioner of the Transcaucasian krai, Baron G. V. Rosen, but did not attract the attention of the tsarist general and remained in his personal archives." The original is reportedly at GIM in Moscow, f. 6, sv 41, ll. 211-216.

An important part of Bakikhanli's plan, essential components of which reappeared over the ensuing decades without any attribution to him, was the bilingual feature of the project. Students were to be taught by native and Russian teachers in relevant languages and courses of study.

RECENT TRANSLATIONS OF *NASIHATLAR*

In 1982 and 1983, two separate editions of *Nasihatlär* (in three languages and two scripts) were published in Baku. One, published in 1982, is a "popular" publication in a pocket-size, paperback edition, published in 30,000 copies and costing 20 kopeks. It contains three copies of *Nasihatlär*: two are in Azerbaijani Turkish (one in Cyrillic, one Arabo-Persian script) and one is in Persian.¹ The other volume, published in 1983, is a publication of the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijan SSR which includes a biography of Bakikhanli and many of his major works and correspondence in Russian translation.² This is a hardback volume of more than 340 pages, published in 4000 copies and costs 3 rubles.

The translation at the end of the chapter is based on the two Turkic and one Russian versions in these volumes. The versions differ in both wording and in substance. The discrepancies begin even with their introductions.

In his brief introduction to the 1982 volume (with Persian and two Turkic texts), Memmedaga Sultanov states that Bakikhanli wrote the work in both these languages. He gives no other information on the manuscript and incorrectly reports the date of composition as 1254 A.H. rather than 1252, which is the date given in the text itself.

According to an explanatory note accompanying the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences' Russian translation of 1983, *Nasihatlär* was written in Persian and translated into Turkish by an unknown author. A Persian-language manuscript from 1838-39 (1254 A.H.) reportedly exists in the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences Manuscripts Collection.

¹See Note 1 for full citation.

²See Note 1. The Editorial Board for this volume includes, extremely distinguished Azerbaijani Turkish scholars: Z. M. Buniatov, M. Z. Jafarov, M. I. Ismailov, F. K. Köcherli, and A. S. Sumbatzade. Other respected scholars made several of the translations from Bakikhanli's originals (from Turkish, Persian of Arabic): E. M. Akhmedov, A. M. Ahkhi and others including one "M. Sultanov," perhaps editor of the Turkish-Persian volume.

A more important discrepancy exists between the two translations — the 1982 Turkish and Persian variants have only 88 items. The Russian translation contains 103: the 88 items in the Turkish version and 19 additional items. Neither the present writer nor, to my knowledge, other non-Soviet scholars, have ever had access to the original manuscript. Therefore, there is no independent verification concerning the actual number of Admonitions, or original language(s) of the work. All published texts, however, number each Admonition. References to specific items in the following discussion therefore have two numbers: the first number, from the Russian translation, followed by a number in brackets representing the item number in the Turkish translation.

The Russian-language translation produced by the Academy of Sciences, however, appears to be the more accurate.

DIFFERENCES IN TEXTS

A. Differences between two Turkic versions, in Cyrillic (Cy) and Arabo-Persian (AP) script.

The Turkish Cyrillic text is not, as one might expect, a transcription of the Arabo-Persian. Rather, nearly every *Nasihah* has some difference in phrasing or word choice, however minor. The differences in many instances do not reflect a readily discernible pattern. That is to say neither transcription contains a consistently more Turkic or more Arabic and Persian vocabulary. The Cyrillic transcription does seem to use language that, for the most part, conforms to common spoken usage (often Turkish rather than Persian or Arabic words) of Soviet Azerbaijani Turks: in Item 55 {42}, Cy uses "kul" rather than "bende" in AP; in Item 62 {47} uses the more common "yerine yetermek" instead of "icra etmek"; in Item 75 {60} Cy has "pis haysiyyet" instead of "badmizac"; in Item 81 {66} Cy uses "kin" instead of "adavet"; Item 85 {70} Cy uses "pis ad" where AP has "badnamelik." (Modern Turkish spelling is used here.)

Rarely the reverse is true, i.e., that AP contains terms more common in Soviet Azerbaijan: Item 24 {9} AP ends with the phrase "senin hakkında pis fikre düşer:" and Cy ends with the more bookish (and Persian) "senin hakkında badgumen olar."

There are some differences in content in which the Cy transcription omits some words or whole sentences (Items 14 {1}, 39 {24}, 46 {31}, 55 {42}, 80 {65}, 87 {72}, 95 {78}, or gives a different message (Items 31 {16}, 96 {79}). These are relatively few items, and the great majority of items, despite different wording, convey the same message. Much greater, however, are the discrepancies between Russian translation and either of the Turkish transcriptions, although the Russian is often closer to the Arabo-Persian than to the Cyrillic.

In attempting to offer explanations for these differences, one must be prepared to accept not a single, all-encompassing motivation or "plan", but rather several "pulls" in different directions to account for various discrepancies. Some influences would conform to official censorship or agitprop guidelines and others, on the contrary, seem designed to promote some other goal.

Some changes of vocabulary between the Turkic texts could be sloppiness, as suggested by several obvious errors in typesetting and other simple mistakes in the book itself (e.g. the compiler dates the work as 1254 A.H., although Bakikhanli's introduction gives the date as 1252¹).

The discrepancies may reflect an attempt to alter the text to conform to present-day usage either for the sake of convenience for contemporary readers, which would be supported by the frequent similarity between AP and Ru texts. The changes might have been introduced to suggest (to those who can only read the Cyrillic) the present-day language was precisely the same that Bakikhanli used. The former might be a goal of those (perhaps on the production staff) interested in communicating the message of the *Admonitions*; the latter would support official language policy which claims the distinctness — and separateness — of an "Azerbaijani language" apart from other Turkic dialects.

Creating deliberate difference between the two Turkish versions could also serve as an obstacle to those who might try to use this book's parallel texts to learn the Arabo-Persian script (knowledge which the official apparatus

¹The manuscript in the Academy is reportedly a copy made in 1254, so it may be the compiler's error is based on that knowledge. The mistake reflects sloppiness nonetheless.

would presumably prefer remain the domain of scholars).¹ But the technique could also be used by compilers or other participants in the production process to introduce synonyms and thereby expand vocabulary under the guise of trying to obstruct learning of the Arabo-Persian script. Elements of all the "strategies" suggested here may be operating for a complex "trade-off."

Certain discrepancies in vocabulary can easily be construed (which is not to claim these are necessarily true) to serve specific, known goals. These might be gleaned from comparison of Cyrillic Turkish with both Arabo-Persian text and the apparently more scholarly Russian-language translation from original manuscripts: Only Cy Item 14 {1} lists "sister" as an object of respect, which would militate toward breaking the traditional male-dominated family hierarchy. On the other hand, only in the Cyrillic text does Item 31 {1} state that "if you remain unmarried" you are useless. The implication of the need to "be fruitful and multiply" is hardly Moscow's message to the Central Asians, but is a possible message within Azerbaijani Turkish society, especially for urbanites with their smaller families.²

B. Differences between Russian and Turkish Translations

Most obvious in comparing the Russian translation to the two Turkic texts is the discrepancy in the number of *Nasihattar* — a difference of 19 items. Two possibilities must be considered. On the one hand, the extra items may be apocryphal and were invented and inserted into the text in what must be called a bold — and quite uncharacteristic — move on the part of several senior, highly respected and widely published members of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences.

One can reasonably dismiss this highly unlikely possibility. Not that the Soviet establishment has not made appropriate "refinements" in translations of historical materials — indeed they are as famous for it as for the retouched photograph — but those changes are made to support the

¹This has always been the presumed (in the West) reason for the alphabet changes of the 1920-30s which ended the use of the Arabo-Persian script for Turkic and Persian dialects in the USSR. The eventual introduction of Cyrillic (replacing Latin) then would facilitate learning Russian. On Soviet language politics, see Stefan Wurm, *Turkic Languages of Central Asia: Problems of Planned Cultural Contact* (Central Asian Research Centre in association with St. Antony's College) (Oxford, 1954).

²Much has been written about this "demographic explosion." For example, see Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, *Decline of an Empire* (New York, 1981) or Murray Feshbach, "Trends in the Soviet Muslim Population: Demographic Aspects," in Yaacov Ro'i (Ed.) *The USSR and the Muslim World* (London: Unwin & Allen, 1984).

regime's official positions.¹ In the case of the 19 "missing" Admonitions, the opposite is true. Those items bear a message that is contrary to Soviet propaganda.

At the most obvious level, many of the 19 Admonitions in question contain religious messages. These messages would not have been sanctioned by the regime. (Even the most Machiavellian thinker could not risk a scheme involving "planting" a religious message to show its evil. It might backfire and instill real religiosity.) The individual members of a republican academy would be unlikely to manufacture their own religious message for they would have a great deal at stake and be unlikely to dare so easily discovered a charade. Furthermore, there is no reason to think that the scholars involved in the production of this volume are inclined to insert a view that runs against the grain of Soviet propaganda from the time of the Bolshevik Revolution. If they or anyone were so inclined, the risks would be too great, especially for a volume that would be published in only 4000 copies.

We are left then with the conclusion that the 19 Admonitions in the Russian translation are authentic and were omitted from the Turkish translation. The more subtle, perhaps more powerful, content of these items is discussed below.

The careful and accurate historical notes, the phrasing of the Russian translation itself (Bakikhanli's reference to himself as "your servant" rather than as "I," for example), the attention to detail and the broad coverage of Bakikhanli's works of the Russian-language volume, combined with the credentials of the compiler and editorial board, further support the impression that the Academy's is the more serious and scholarly of the two volumes.

The alterations of the Turkish translations must therefore be seen as part of the agitprop function of that volume, especially in view of its large tiraj (30,000), low cost, and multiple language and dual-script text. It seems designed to deliver a certain message (and not deliver certain others) to a wide audience, reading in both Cyrillic and Arabo-Persian script and in Turkish and Persian. Such an audience would be found on both sides of the Soviet-Iranian border that divides Azerbaijan.

¹This is documented in H. B. Paksoy, *Alpamysh Central Asian Identity under Russian Rule* (Hartford CT: Association for the Advancement of Central Asian Research monograph Series, 1989) citing, for example, *Pravda Vostoka*, April 1952 noting the "laudatory" efforts of Lev Penkovskii to introduce "improvements" and "refinements" in his translation of the dastan ("ornate oral history") Alpamysh to make the dastan more "suitable" to a contemporary Soviet audience.

Despite the differences in the various texts, all published versions share many common ideas and Admonitions. The text must speak for itself, but major points are discussed in the present section.

The single most powerful, insistant message of *Nasihatlar* is the centrality and power of knowledge, learning, and the use of intellect. This message is delivered more completely in the Russian translation, and will be discussed below. Both versions, however, contain numerous admonitions urging the acquisition of knowledge and the use of the mind over the heart: Ru Item 32 {Tk No. 17} on the primacy of intelligence; or Item 60 {45} in which the Turkish translations state there is no greater wealth than "intelligence and aspiration," while the Russian translation lists "mind and knowledge."

Nasihatlar also emphasizes religious duties (developed more fully in the Russian translation) and various aspects of moral behavior:

- be busy and avoid laziness; do not mix in business that is not your own (e.g., 29 {14}, 30 {15}, 31 {16});

- know and fulfill obligations (e.g., 5, 11, 12, 98, 99, {81}, 101 {83});

- do not spread word of faults or errors of others nor expose your own faults for others to see (e.g., 24 {9}, 26 {11}, 38 {23}, 41 {26}, 66 {51});

- act with moderation, caution and discretion, neither speaking too much nor too openly, refraining from action when angry and avoiding vengeance (e.g., 27 {12}, 28 {13}, 35 {20} - 38 {23}, 50 {35}, 51 {36}, 65 {50}, 69 {54}, 78 {63}, 81 {66}, 89 {74}, 94 {77});

- deal honestly in all undertakings, keep your promises; unless there is contrary evidence, construe the actions of others in a positive way; yet give punishment when it is deserved (e.g., 61 {46}, 62 {47}, 67 {52} - 72 {57}, 95 {78}, 96 {79});

- to some degree, the individual must be a guarantor of justice, even ensuring that the guilty are punished and that the innocent exonerated (e.g., 95 {78}, 96 {79}, 102 {84});

– good friends are valuable — treat them and your relatives kindly, but do not associate with immoral people (e.g., 22 {7}, 52 {37}, 53 {38}, 73 {58}, 74 {59}, 75 {60});

– know yourself and be self-confident, not believing rumors or compliments nor being envious (e.g., 34 {19}, 43 {28}, 44 {29}, 77 {62}, 81 {66}, 82 {67}, 93 {76});

– spend wealth wisely, and do not be miserly or run after material goods; do not become too attached to worldly riches because they will ultimately be lost; do not indulge your senses or the biddings of your heart (e.g., 54 {39}, 58 {43}, 59 {44}, 83 {68}, 84 {69}, 87 {72}, 88 {73});

– respect law, authorities and elders (although nothing in the language or full context suggests subservience): 4, 5, 6, 14 {1}, 15 {2}, 16, 17 {3}, 18 {14}).

The issues which are not included are also worthy of note. *Nasihatlar* is primarily a guide to appropriate ethical and moral social behavior. Religious precepts are presented as the foundation for ethics and morality, in such Items as 1-13, but there is no theme of religion versus state or of the conflicts between this-worldly and other-worldly concerns. There is no word about the renunciation of the world (merely a warning not become too attached to its riches, Item 87 {72}) nor mention of the cleansing power of solitude, fasting or celibacy.¹

C - Differences in the Message of Russian Text

Most of the elements that distinguish the Russian text from the two in Turkish are embodied in Bakikhanli's introduction and the 19 items of the Russian translation that do not appear in the Turkish translations; secondarily are several major differences in those items that do exist in both translations, as marked in the translation below. Most obvious is that the first 13 Admonitions of the Russian translation (which do not occur in the Turkish versions) concern religious beliefs and obligations — the declaration that a world so ordered and harmonious must be the creation of a Supreme Being; the admonition to pray, give alms, revere the Prophets and follow the *ulema*; the doctrine of a Last Judgment with reward or punishment for the behavior of a lifetime.

¹This is also true of *Tahzib al-Ahlak*; it is not peculiar to *Nasihatlar*.

Since this religious message was apparently deliberately omitted from the "popularized" Turkish and Persian publication, it must have been deemed powerful by the censors, or compilers engaging in self-censorship based on known guidelines.¹ Certainly, these items contain language that the Soviet citizens would rarely read in official publications² and might, for that very reason, exert even greater impact.

The first 13 items lay out the duties of a Muslim, especially (in the mention of the 12th imam as Mahdi) the Shi'a, and establish a religious basis for morality in general. These and later items missing from the Turkish translations convey the idea that the world or nature and human society are governed by Divine law, that God assigned duties to human beings as would an earthly father (Item 2), that the law ("Shari'a") of the Prophets is legitimate, and that humans are inherently unequal (Item 91) because they are not identical and were created for their own individual functions. Although, it must be reiterated that the religious elements are confined primarily to providing an underpinning for ethics and morality (and are dispensed with in the first 13 items), they do articulate ideas which the regime's antireligious propaganda has long sought to combat.

Turning to the main message, it is articulated unambiguously in the extra *Nasihatar* and in Bakikhanli's brief introduction. It is a message whose power is perhaps more threatening than religion to the Soviet-regime, whose roots in Turkic thought long antedate the Russian rise to political power and even the Turks' acceptance of Islam. It is a message whose appeal may seduce religious and irreligious alike including the young generations reared on "scientific socialism." It is, in fact, a message that is impossible to combat within the framework of Marxism-Leninism. The message is the power of knowledge and rational thought.

The first statement of this message precedes even the first *Nasihah* and is found in Bakikhanli's brief introduction addressed to the youth. This introduction sets the framework within which the Admonitions are given and establishes the central reason for passing them on to future generations. Here

¹On these regulations, see Martin Dewhirst and Robert Farrell (Eds.) *The Soviet Censorship*, (Metuchen NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1973).

²Not to say phoney "official" publications which are a kind of fancy "samizdat" between state book covers rather than crude carbon- or photocopies. On this phenomenon, see H. B. Paksoy, "The Deceivers," in *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1983) documenting such a case as reported in the Uzbek press. In Turkmenistan a similar phenomenon has been reported involving the illegal use of official recording studios to make "underground" cassettes, see *Komsomol'skaia Pravda*, December 1984.

in this introduction the Turkish translation betrays a disconnectedness and illogic that suggests one of the famous Soviet "refinements" of historical texts:

Don't you see that even though animals have such huge bodies and strength, still they are captive in the hands of man. And here is one of the reasons to do your work well. Those who are very knowledgeable and able are always respected... it is always necessary to learn from those people...

By contrast, in the Russian-language translation, the sentences logically follow one another and deliver a rather different message:

Do you not see that strong and large animals are humble in the hands of a human being? This is thanks to the knowledge of the order of things. In society, too, whoever best knows his own affairs and does good, he will always be respected. Consequently, it is necessary to learn the means of the knowledge of things and of the virtue of people...

The former message is one of subordination to those who have greater experience, to figures of authority. The latter message states that it is knowledge "of the order of things" which, first, sets humanity above the animals and, second, makes one capable and respected in society, that is, as a social animal. Bakikhanli's *Nasihatlar* thus constitutes a non-Marxist source of humanitarian ethics, moral and exhortation to rationality. Therein lies this work's greatest threat to the regime for it is in the realm of social justice and change — in creating the perfect communist man — that Marxism-Leninism admits no competitors.

Carrying the point further, one need look only to the first *Nasihah*: "...there exists one God who created everything. We must know Him." The message is to know God, not to worship blindly. Prayer (*Nasihah* 11) is essential to this knowledge and understanding, it is not advocated merely for the sake of tradition or to supplicate for one's needs. There is no message of subservience connected with knowing God, prayer, or even in urgings of respect for the *ulema*.

Also controversial is Item 92 which does not exist in any form in the Turkish translations: "... as people are distinguished by their [external] figure and voice, [they] are distinguished also by their knowledge and morals." Because this item is coupled with a previous Admonition (Item 91) which

states that "All people cannot be equal..." Item 92 seems to elaborate on that point and may therefore be construed as contrary to certain perceptions of egalitarianism.

INTELLECTUAL ANTECEDENTS

Whether consciously or not Bakikhanli's message carries on an earlier Turkic tradition, both Turko-Islamic and pre-Islamic Turkic. This is not to deny his conscious intellectual debt to those whom he quotes in his works including Sufi poets like Sana'i, Hafiz and Rumi. Rather the object here is to demonstrate two basic points: (1) the emphasis on the use of intellect and rational thought, associated in the West with the Enlightenment, has never been the exclusive preserve of Western thought. Bakikhanli need not have learned such ideas from European writers to whom, in any case, he never refers; (2) Bakikhanli's works carry on a tradition that exists not only in Islamic tradition, but one that is older than Islam and which is consciously used as a precedent by later generations of Azerbaijani Turks.

Kutadgu Bilig, written in 1069 in Kashgar by Balasagunlu Yusuf, known as Yusuf Khass Hajib, is a Turkic "mirror for princes" of the Islamic period. This work, of just over 6600 lines, contains many Turkic themes and motifs which distinguish it from Irano-Islamic works of the same century, which were written after Yusuf's work.¹

Kutadgu Bilig emphasizes intelligence and wisdom as well as religion as the basis for morality and just rule. Indeed, one of the four central figures of *Kutadgu Bilig* represents Wisdom. Many themes which characterize *Nasihatlär* occupy a central place in *Kutadgu Bilig*.

Chapter 6 of *Kutadgu Bilig* is titled "That man's chief glory is wisdom and intellect," and states "When God created man He chose him and distinguished him, granting him virtue and wisdom, mind and understanding..." (Line 148-150). Later, we read "What is there in the world more precious than wisdom? To call a man a fool is an ugly curse... if a wise man has a seat in the courtyard, then the courtyard is superior to the seat of honor" (Line 260-2); and "Use your intellect in the execution of all your affairs" (Line 5194; compare these to *Nasihatlär* 32 {17}, 60 {45}).

¹This point is made also by Prof. Robert Dankoff in his introduction to his annotated translation of *Kutadgu Bilig* published under the title *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig): A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). Line numbers are from Dankoff's translation.

Most of all like Bakikhanli's words on intellect is this passage: "It is out of intellect that all good things proceed, and it is through wisdom that a man achieves greatness. With both together, a man ennoble himself... What is greater than wisdom? That it is which distinguishes man from beast." (Lines 1841-43; Compare to Introduction to *Nasihatarlar*.)¹

Balasagunlu Yusuf also emphasizes the *permanence* of a good name: "The living die in the end and make the earth their bed, but if a man dies and he is good, his name lives on" (Line 237; see *Nasihatarlar* 50 {35}, 85 {70}); "... if I die with a good name, I shall have no cause for repentance." (Line 92)².

Kutadgu Bilig cautions against anger and acting in anger: "Good man of intellect, put off anger... If you rush into an affair [when angry]..., you will surely ruin your life. He who gets angry always regrets his deed, and he who gets annoyed at a task always errs... Self-control and moderation are required along with reason and good sense in order to distinguish men and to conduct business." (Lines 322-28); "Restrain your temper: when anger overcomes, you, pretend you are tongue-tied." (Line 5216; see *Nasihatarlar* 28 {13}, 81 {66})

Kutadgu Bilig notes the importance of friends: "Know that friends are like another back: if a man had many friends his back rests against a mountain cliff; and a man who has a strong backing is firmly rooted in Fortune" (Line 1698; compare to *Nasihatarlar* 53 {38}); the dangers of associating with those of bad character: "Stay away from the one who has a bad reputation... Do not mix with the bad man, good man, or you'll become bad like him" (Lines 4280-40); "Do not mix with the wicked, but stay clear of them" (Line 4290); "Do not consort with wicked friends; they will bring you loss ..." (Line 1296; compare these with *Nasihatarlar* 22 {7}, 75 {60}).

On the treatment of friends and enemies, Yusuf's work again seems to foreshadow Bakikhanli's: "If you would make your enemy your servant, offer him abundant gold and honor his beard. If you would estrange an intimate, speak harshly to him and do not give him what he asks" (Line 4277; compare to *Nasihatarlar* 57 {42}); "If you wish all men to love you, make your heart and your tongue one and your words sweet" (Line 4278 compare to *Nasihatarlar* 52 {37}).

¹Also see *KB* Lines 1680-85, 1775-1820, 1837, 3082, 3165, 5320, 5403.

²Also see *KB* Lines 5158, 5220's 5569, 5608.

Also in *Kutadgu Bilig* are instructions concerning respect for and conduct toward descendants of the Prophet and the *ulema* (Lines 4336-4355; *Nasihah* 4,6,16), to avoid envy (Line 1302; see *Nasihah* 43 {28}, 44 {29}), to guard your tongue (Lines 1313, 3425; see *Nasihah* 19 {5}, 71 {56}), and the advantage of providing moral education to children: "Instruct your child in wisdom while he is young and he will be successful... Whatever a child learns in youth he does not forget in old age but retains until he dies" (Line 1495; compare to Bakikhanli's Introduction to *Nasihatlār*).

In comparing the message of *Kutadgu Bilig* to that of *Nasihatlār*, two points must be noted. First, there seem to be no direct references to *Kutadgu Bilig* in Bakikhanli's published work. The number and detail of the similarities between the messages of the two works are striking, however. Second, such similarities would not be found in examining other known "mirror for princes" works. The other works of this genre written later in the 11th century, the Persian *Qabus-nameh* and Nizam al-Mulk's *Siyaset-nameh* or the 12th c. *Nasihah al-Muluk* by al-Ghazali have distinct characteristics, all unlike *Kutadgu Bilig* in their main thrust. *Qabus-nameh* emphasizes the pursuit of pleasure, *Siyaset-nameh* is an administrative handbook, and *Nasihah al-Muluk* strives "to establish the ethnical and religious basis of the sultanate."¹ The best known Western work of this genre, Machiavelli's *The Prince*, is, of course, of an entirely different spirit.

That much of the tradition which *Nasihatlār* embody is indeed Turkic (rather than solely Islamic) is attested not only by comparison among the above-mentioned works or the relative lack of emphasis on religious questions in *Nasihatlār*, but also by a brief examination of the pre-Islamic Turkic inscriptions of the Orkhon Tablets, erected in the 8th century.

The Orkhon Tablets, comprising five stone monuments with inscriptions on all sides, are located in present-day Mongolia. They tell of early Turkic rulers, wars and statesmen. Several clear messages, similar to those of Bakikhanli's *Nasihatlār*, are articulated in the inscriptions on these monuments or are implicit in their heroic narrative.²

¹ Dankoff introduction to his translation of *Kutadgu Bilig*, pp. 8-9.

² Talat Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1968) (Uralic and Altaic Series, No. 69) includes texts, pp. 231-258 and a translation of all the inscriptions, pp. 259-295.

The longest inscription is the Kul Tigin inscription which warns the Turks of the "soft materials" with which the Chinese, their remote neighbors and enemies, may lull and deceive them. The inscription warns of the Turks thinking of being satiated and of living in close proximity to the Chinese (S 5-8, E 8-40).¹ In the past, Turks were taken in by the Chinese "wiles and deceptions," betrayed their kagans (rulers) and thereby fell under Chinese rule: "Their sons worthy of becoming lords became slaves and their daughters worthy of becoming ladies became servants to the Chinese people." (E7)

When the Turks fell under this spell, thousands were killed. The inscription states that if the Turks themselves had not erred, no outside force could have subdued or destroyed them: "If the sky did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, O Turkish people, who would be able to destroy your state and institutions? O Turkish people regret and repent! Because of your unruliness, you yourselves betrayed your wise kagan who had (always) nourished you, and you yourselves betrayed your realm which was free and independent, and you (yourselves) caused discord." (E 22-23)

The implicit message is that the individuals and the community are responsible for their own actions and their own fate — no "scourge of God" is blamed for the loss of independence. The Turks are themselves blamed for being taken in by seductive material comforts. Their ruin was a result of their poor judgment, foolishness, betrayal of their own just rulers, failure to exercise caution, and lack of self-control.

Other inscriptions emphasize the importance of strength and action rather than inaction or laziness (Bilga Kagan and Tonyukuk inscriptions), the importance of taking responsibility (the Ongin inscription) and the glorification of a wise and brave leader (Küli Çor inscription).

As suggested above, it is not known whether Bakikhanli had ever read *Kutadgu Bilig*, although there are many similarities and the work was known in this time. The Orkhon tablets, on the other hand, were apparently not known in Bakikhanli's lifetime.² The point to be made here is not Bakikhanli's consciousness of the precedent, but the fact that his work represents a continuation of an earlier Turkic tradition. Bakikhanli seems to echo the messages of *Kutadgu Bilig* nearly eight centuries after Yusuf Khass Hajib and to bear the spirit of the Orkhon tablets 1200 years after they were inscribed.

¹Lines are identified by "direction" (E is east side of monument) and line number.

²Tekin states that something was known of runic inscriptions by the late 18th century, but these tablets were not found until the 1890s and their texts were not deciphered until the early 20th century. P. 12-15.

BAKIKHANLI'S IMPACT

The impact of *Nasihatlär* lies not in its originality, for the ideas it expresses are not original. Rather, this work and others by Bakikhanli are influential because they provide a link to the intellectual, social, cultural past; indeed they reassert seminal traditional values.

For works to have impact, they must be known. Evidence indicates that Bakikhanli's works were known, although rarely in published form.

Apparently, only one volume by Bakikhanli was published before 1920.¹ *Nasihatlär* was not published until 1925, in a larger volume on literary history.² Bakikhanli's school project was first published in 1957 and *Tahzib al-Ahlak* was published for the first time in 1982. Frequent mention of his name and ideas in the periodical press of the late imperial period, however, raise the possibility that his works circulated in manuscript or may have been published in periodicals or volumes under names other than Bakikhanli's. The publication of *Nasihatlär* by Firudin Kocherli in 1925 (cited above) demonstrates that at least some manuscripts were in the hands of Azerbaijan's intellectual elite.

The impact of Bakikhanli's ideas were not always associated with his name and efforts. His bilingual school project reappeared in modified form as the so-called Khanykov plan in 1845.³ The basis had, however, been radically altered. No longer was the aim of bilingual education and "mixed"⁴ curriculum to provide access to two worlds, but it was now to prevent Azerbaijani Turks from going to Iran or the Ottoman Empire for a potentially "subversive" or "anti-Russian" education and "to train students in accord with the wishes of the state."⁵

The Bakikhanli Project appeared yet again in the "First Muslim Teachers Conference" in Baku in 1906 and in the plan of that Conference's Planning Committee, which worked out a detailed program for bilingual

¹ *Azerbaijan kitabı* (bibliografiya). Vol. 1; 1780-1920. (Baku: Azerbaijan Ministry of Culture, 1963) lists only one published work by Bakikhanli, p. 3.

² Firudin Kocherli, *Azerbaijan Edebiyyati Tarikhi Materialları* (Baku, 1925).

³ N. Tahirzade, "O Musul'manskikh."

⁴ Meaning traditional medresse topics like Sharia as well as subjects normally taught in Russian secular schools like accounting, geography and Russian history.

⁵ Tahirzade, "O musul'manskikh." pp. 151-153.

education and "mixed" curriculum.¹ Although no conscious link to Bakikhanli's project has yet been documented, the 1906 Teachers' Committee's plan calls for many of the same provisions as Bakikhanli's plan of 70 years earlier.

Perhaps most telling of all is the revival of interest in Bakikhanli and the reprinting — or in some cases first publication — of his work in the 1980s. The message of *Nasihatar* is now, 150 years after its composition, deemed potent enough to warrant publication in Persian and Turkish in 30,000 copies, undoubtedly for distribution in both Soviet and Iranian Azerbaijan. It is also considered sufficiently powerful to require considerable alteration. The scholars of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, too, have testified to Bakikhanli's continuing relevance in their production of a carefully translated and documented volume of his writings. Preparations are reportedly being made for the commemoration, in 1994, of the 200th anniversary of his birth, to which this Chapter is dedicated.

COMPOSITE TEXT OF ABBAS KULU AGA BAKIKHANLI'S *NASIHATLAR*

NOTE: In the following translation, most items have two numbers. The first corresponds to the number of the Russian-language translation (by the Academy of Sciences). It is followed by the item's number from the Turkish translations unless there is no corresponding item. The first 13 items of the Russian translation, for example, do not exist in the Turkish translation and have only one number. *Nasihah* No. 1 in the Turkish translation, however, corresponds to *Nasihah* no. 14 of the Russian; that item is marked 14 {1}. Differences between Turkish, Cyrillic {Tk Cy} and Arabo-Persian {AP} scripts are noted in brackets {} as are difference with the Russian {Ru} translation. When the two Turkic texts are the same, the abbreviation "Tk" has been used.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Praise to God, lord of the world. Blessings to Muhammad, most revered among people, first and last; blessing and greetings to his blameless and immaculate descendants!

¹For more information on that, see this author's "Azerbaijani Bourgeoisie and the Cultural-Enlightenment Movement in Baku: First Steps Toward Nationalism," in R. G. Suny (Ed.), *Transcaucasia: Nationalism and Social Change* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Series, 1985).

Abbasgulu ibn merhum (son of the late) Mirza Mehemmed khan Bakuvi, under the Pseudonym Kudsî,¹ speaks thus: when your humble servant was informed and became versed in the condition of knowledge, {he} discovered that, after finishing the Koran, students set about {reading} several books with words incomprehensible to them that even their teachers themselves cannot understand, and in several works, the issues are so diffuse and dissipated that understanding and remembering them turns out to be difficult.

{Turkic versions begin with elipsis followed by these words: When I became aware of knowledge, it became known to me that children, when they want to learn from certain books, encounter such confused turns of speech that even their teachers can not understand...}

Therefore, it follows from the thought (of the aphorism): 'Knowledge learned in childhood is like an image cut in stone,' that the beauty of morals must be taught in childhood more than in other years. After bad morals are rooted in one's nature, thanks to repetition and habit, knowledge and principles of intercourse influence them only with difficulty.

{Turkic version: Because of this, it seems they are ignorant of the content of this aphorism... It is necessary in childhood more than at any other time to teach the beauty of morality. During the repetition of excellent morals, this becomes a custom and part of human nature and scholarly and literary rules that are difficult to learn become a habit.}

Thus, in the one thousand two hundred fifty second year of the Hijra, I set forth in understandable phrases and content a short essay of admonitions by the name, A Book of Admonitions.

I hope it will aid the munificent threshold {of God}², that children will get some use out of it and will approach it with enthusiasm.

{Turkic version differs here only slightly: I wrote a clear and easily understood short book by the name *Nasihatlar* (Admonitions) ... and I hope that this work will be of use to children and will influence the gradual development of their upbringing.}

¹Kudsî was Bakikhanli's *mahlas* (pseudonym). The word means "holy" or "sacred."

²The note to Ru translation inserts this explanatory material.

I am directing advise to children thus:

My dear beloved (esteemed), you are a human being. God created man above everything else. Do you not see that even though animals have such huge bodies and strength, still they are captive in the hands of man. And this is thanks to the knowledge of the order of things. In society too, whoever best knows his own affairs and does good, he will always be respected. Consequently, it is necessary to learn the means of the knowledge of things and of the virtue of people, who through examination and experience delineate what is good and what is bad, and the words which for us are admonitions.

{Tk versions ends thus after "captive in the hands of man": But this is one of the reasons for doing your work well. Respect those who are very knowledgeable (bilikli) and able (işbilen). In other words, it is always necessary to learn from those people the rules of managing your own affairs (iş bilmek: task, job) and doing good; they [are the ones who] are experienced in life and [possess] talent. The words of such people advise us:}

1. A world with such foundations and order could not be without a sovereign. That means that there exists one God who created everything. We must know him.

2. If a father does not leave his children on their own and [rather] to each designates a certain duty, then how is it possible that supreme God created us in vain and would not have entrusted us with certain duties?

3. We never see God, consequently, we need a person who can transmit to us the word of and duties to God through the angels. We call such a person a prophet.

4. There have been many prophets; [and] all were true. But in as much as everything has its own time, today Almighty God granted that the Shari'a of our prophet, the Messenger of God, Muhammad ibn Abdallah (blessings be upon him), [he considered] better than the Shari'a [sic - laws] of other prophets and [He] guided [us?] to submit to it.

5. The commands and duties which Almighty God hands down to us *through the Prophet is the Koran*, which is from beginning to end the word of God, and no one can tamper with it or change it, for the word of man does not resemble the divine word.

6. Every person is obliged to bear love for and submit to the imams and members of the family of the Prophet (may blessings be upon him and his family), [for] they are the heirs of the lessons of the Prophet; and the messenger, God's imam Mahdi¹ (greetings to him), who will come at the end of the world and fulfill the Shari'a of the Prophet in all the earth, belongs to this group.

7. Once Almighty God entrusts us with an obligation, then whoever fulfills it, God will grant as a reward in [this] world contentment and nobility; at the Resurrection he will enter paradise, and whoever does not fulfill [this obligation] will be miserable and obscene in this world and at the Resurrection will be cast into hell.

8. The Resurrection is the day that God will raise up all people together from the dead and demand an accounting of all their actions.

9. Those who have done good will enter paradise, in order to dwell eternally in abundant gardens and enchanted palaces and will attain unending contentment.

10. Those who have done evil will be sent to hell so that in the course of the ages they will burn in a fearsome fire, dragons and scorpions will tear the flesh from their bodies and feed on it.

11. One of the duties established by God is the performance of the five ritual prayers, fulfillment of which is essential for the understanding of God.

12. Every day of the month of Ramadan it is necessary from dawn to dark to observe a fast in order to enter into the state of those who are hungry and to be charitable toward them.

13. It is necessary that rich people give to the poor the *zakat* and the *khums*² and alms, so that this will serve as a means of subsistence and a cause for the well-being of the life and property of others.

¹A note to the translation (Russian) explains this is refers to the 12th, hidden imam.

²Note to translation explains the *zakat* as 1/10 of income, as prescribed by the Koran, be distributed for the poor; and defines *khums* as a tax on the use of minerals and treasures, constituting 1/5 of the income. According to the *Redhouse Lexicon*, the word *khums* is literally "one-fifth."

14. {1} {Ru only: After God, the Prophet and the imams} Hold your own parents more dear than anyone and whatever their pronouncements, do them and never offend them. {Tkcy inserts elipsis here in place of following sentence.} Those whose parents are not pleased with him, neither will Almighty God be pleased with them. Obey also your older brother and your paternal and maternal uncles. {Tkcy includes "sister". AP is same as Ru.}

15. {2} Respect all those who are greater than you in status, learning or age, so that those younger than you will respect you.

16. Show respect toward religious scholars, for the Prophet (upon whom be blessings) and the imams (upon whom be greetings) are not among us, and in the study of instructions of the Shari'a we must be in their [the scholars'] presence.

17. {3} Know that it is necessary for you to listen to heads of state; if it were not for them, people would encroach upon each other's property, lives and honor and there could be no law and order in the country. {Tk Cy reverses the order of the clauses so that "property, lives and honor" is last.}

18. {4} Whenever you are in any country, do not act contrary to that region's laws so you will not be exposed to torment. {Tk: "be imprisoned."}

{AP: "o yerinin kanunlari eleyhine iş görme;" as opposed to Tk Cy: "o vilayetin ganun-gaydalarina zidd iş görme."}

19. {5} Do not do any deed or speak any word from which no good will come in [this] world or in the next world, in order that you will not suffer damage (loss).

{Tk: Do not do anything that is not for the good of the people (halk) nor speak any [such] word, so that no harm may come to you. (AP ends with slightly different phrasing {"sana ziyan değer" instead of "zerar yetiſer"} and elipsis.)}

20. When you see a person who is unfortunate and helpless, do not laugh at him, for God can put you in the same position.

21. {6} Greet {Tk: wish peace} everyone that you encounter. If he says a[n offensive] word to you, listen and answer with civility so that all will love you.

{AP: "answer with tact and humility."}

22. {7} Associate with those people that adults consider to be decent {Tk: good}, stay far from the base and those who chatter {Tk: from those who talk baseness and nonsense}, so that you will not become like them.

23. {8} When you see one in need, do not hold back, help the one in need to the extent you can, so that others will aid you when you are in need.

{Tk versions omit opening phrase and begin with "Help..." AP: uses ihtiyac, Tk Cy uses mohtac.¹}

24. {9} Do not tell anyone's faults to another, because if that person is your enemy, he will carry them to their destination. If it is a friend, he will [thereafter] have a bad opinion {Tk: be mistrustful} of you.

{AP has slightly different wording: "haman adama çatdırar... senin hakkında pis fikre düşer" as opposed to Tk Cy "hamam sözü sahibine çatdırar... senin hakkında badguman olar."}

25. {10} Avoid telling lies, because if everyone knows this characteristic {Tk Cy: knows you as a liar}, they will not believe the truth you speak either.

26. {11} If someone tells you the faults of another, stay far from him because he will tell your faults to others.

27. {12} If you have enmity toward someone, do not behave in such a way that if, one day, you become friends, you will be ashamed before him.

{Tk: Do not make enemies with anyone, that one day if you make friends with him, you will be ashamed. Phrasing differs slightly: AP: "dost olsa ondan utanasan"; Tkey (Cy: "onunla dost olsan utanarsan.")

¹İhtiyac, although known by educated Azerbaijani Turks, is not found in the Soviet "Azerbaijani-Russian" dictionary: *Azerbaidzhansko-Russkii slovar'*, Kh. A. Azizbekov, Compiler (Baku, 1965).

28. {13} When a person becomes angry, he departs from reason. Do not do any work in that condition. Only begin after your anger has cooled!

{AP for angry uses "ghazab" (Arabic) whereas Tk Cy uses "hirs," which is also Arabic but in common use today in Azerbaijan. AP phrasing also differs: "keep yourself from work" ("özünü her işten çekindir") and use of "icra eyle" to begin work again compared to Tk Cy: "hiç bir iş görme" and ise başla," respectively.}

29. {14} Do not try to do a job that you have not been charged with because no good will come of it and you will fall behind in your own work.

{AP: "Do not try to do a job that you have been charged with..." gives precisely the opposite meaning from Tk Cy and Ru. The two Turkic transcriptions do not otherwise differ. There may be a technical error.}

30. {15} Fear laziness, it is the greatest shame. There is nothing more foul {Tk: worse} in the world than idleness.

{AP: uses the phrase "it is worse than all other shames" and slightly different final phrasing. Both Turkic transcriptions use "işsizlik" which I have translated as "idleness" rather than "unemployment." Ru here uses "Bezdel'e" or "idleness."}

31. {16} God created everything to maintain the world in order so that one thing cannot exist without other things. You too are one of those thing. If you remain idle (işsiz), stone and mud are better than you because they can be used to build a house.

{AP agrees with Ru, with some rephrasing. Tk Cy differs noticeably: In this world, everything was created for a purpose. One thing cannot live without being the help of another. You, too, are one of those, and if you remain unmarried, then stones and mud are better... AP uses "ev tikmeye yarayarlar" instead of Tk Cy's "ev tikmek içinde kara gelirler."}

32. {17} Hold the increase of knowledge and education more dear than anything else because everything (else) is increased by the use of them.

{Tk Cy: Strive for learning and the education of the mind above everything else because everything else is done with their help.}

33. {18} Do not do good to those who {AP: try to} do evil to others. This constitutes good for the evil and evil for the good.

34. {19} Do not be quick to believe everything you hear. Perhaps the one who tells you something bears a grudge. Or, the one relaying the word did not clearly understand its meaning. Prove the word from other sources. {Tk Cy ends: accordingly, investigate the words you hear from different sources.}

{AP: Do not believe everything you hear as soon as you hear it, for the person who speaks that very probable thing perhaps has a grudge or he himself is unaware of the truth of the matter. Try to learn from some other place whether the words you heard are true or not.}

35. {20} It often happens that when we are sure of a matter at one time, it later becomes known that the same matter has a different character.

{AP and Ru are similar, Tk Cy has slightly different wording and word order.}

36. {21} Do not get into the habit of joking and playing tricks {AP: playing tricks and making empty jokes} or you will look frivolous in the opinion of others and those of whom you made fun will take offense and think ill of you {Tk end here} and will make it their goal to do evil to you.

37. {22} If you triumph over someone in an argument, do not behave such that those around should know his ignorance. In that case, he will keep enmity in his heart toward you and at an appropriate moment take revenge.

{AP and Ru are same. Tk Cy: If you triumph over a man... do not try to display his ignorance to those around...}

38. {23} During a conversation, do not interfere with the speech of others! It is possible that as a sly person will err and reveal his intent and [thus] an enemy will reveal something to your advantage. But if you talk much, your own inadequacies will be revealed.

{Tk Cy:... sly person will err and display to you a truth you are seeking. AP is roughly the same as Ru, but the language of both Tk versions is more ambiguous.}

39. {24} Well-being consists not in high position but in a good mood. It often happens that a poor man finds {AP: by his [own] efforts} a morsel of bread and eats in peace {AP: with peace of mind; Tk Cy: in peace and happiness}, but the one who commands might is, from the turmoil of his affairs, plunged into confusion and fear.

{Cy: Peace of mind is in the enjoyment of the circumstances, not in property, wealth and position... but the owner of wealth and luxury from the tangle of his own work lives in anxiety and torment (AP: torment and fear).}

{AP uses mihnet and korku in this last line, where Tk Cy uses mihnet and teşhvişh.}

40. {25} When some kind of disaster overtakes you, hope in God and be patient; regret does not return that which was destroyed; because of that [regret], perhaps, you will fail to find out also about future matters.

{Tk: If some misfortune befalls you, be hopeful, wait and be patient because to long for something that is lost, to regret, will not bring it back, [and] perhaps your anxiety and moaning [for things lost] will also cause you to fail to take precautions for [other] matters.}

{AP: Final phrasing varies: ıztırab özünden gelecek işlerin tedbirinden de gafil olarsan; compared to Tk Cy: ıztırab ve ahu-zarlık gelecek işlerin tedbirini de elinden alar.}

41. {26} Do not tell others your misfortunes. If they are your enemies, your misfortune serves as a cause for (their) mischief and for an increase in their power {Tk: they will mock you, be pleased and show their own strength}; if they are strangers, you will be lowered in their eyes {Tk: you will begin to appear unfortunate and worthless}; if they are your friends, it will be a cause for them to be sad and that too will stir up your grief {Tk: be a new trouble for you}.

{AP several words differ from Tk Cy — for "misfortune," AP has "dert" instead of "musibet"; for "be sad," uses "gamlanmak" where Tk Cy uses "kederlenmek." Instead of "appear unfortunate and worthless," AP has "fall from respect," *hürmetden düşmek*.}

42. {27} Villainy in most cases produces result opposite those hoped for. {Tk: Bad character usually causes undesired results.} A miserly person lives in fear of being swindled. A haughty man appears base in the eyes of the people, an egotist is rebuked and people laugh at him. {AP: is afraid of being laughed at (but) becomes a laughing stock.} The man with a heavy-heart {Tk Cy: hirsli, AP: azapli} is tormented because of other people's wrongs.

43. {28} Envy is a sign of talentlessness. A person who believes in his own talent tries to acquire more than others. An untalented (unable) person sees that he cannot improve and wishes that others too will fail to make them equal to himself.

{Tk Cy: If everyone believes in his own strength, he will try above everything else to obtain what he wants...}

{AP:... Those who believe in their own talents will be more successful than others... An untalented person, failing to meet with success wishes others too will fail...}

44. {29} There is no flame that burns worse than envy. An envious person can never live peacefully. His own sorrow and the joy of others are both troubles to him.

45. {30} A greedy and covetous person always complains and is troubled by scarcity because no matter how much wealth he gathers, it always seems insufficient.

46. {31} Do not rely on the kindness and humility of your enemy {Tk: Do not believe the (AP: humble and) friendly words of your enemy}, perhaps he is deceiving you or if he is weak he is waiting for a suitable time.

47. {32} Do not suppose yourself to be talented with every compliment of others, perhaps they have a goal and they want to veil their aim with these compliments.

{AP: first sentence has slightly different wording from Tk Cy, e.g., for "suppose," gives "guman etmek" where Tk Cy has "zenn etmek."}

48. {33} In every rank know your own limit, hold yourself neither lower nor higher than you should.

49. {34} Do not let people immediately find out about your affairs, for they are revealed by your tongue, both good and evil. In that case, refrain from setting forth your own confidential words.

{Tk: The people will quickly learn your condition, from your own tongue they will learn whether you are in a good or bad state. Therefore, carefully mind your tongue (speech) and avoid saying things that are unnecessary!}

50. {35} Fulfill every task in accord with intellect and reason. If suddenly luck does not help it to come about, then you will remain in the world with the name of an expert of your own affairs.

{Tk ends:... if it does not bring luck at least you will be remembered by the world as one who knew. AP: slight variation on first phrase; instead of "intellect and reason" has (lit.) "with the support of your reason."}

51. {36} Do not deny the things you do not know and do not put too much faith even in {AP: do not be too sure of} the thing you know to be right, because our knowledge is still very little or our minds are in confusion. {Tk final phrase: "and our intellects are very poor."}

52. {37} The modest and sweet-tongued person has many friends.

53. {38} Lucky is he who has many friends. What could be better than the sharing of sorrow with another, the indication by him of your inadequacies and the rendering to you of help {when} in need?

{Tk Cy: A person with many friends is lucky, and moreover, when a calamity comes upon you, a friend is your companion to your trouble and shows your defect and helps you in need.

{AP:... what could be better than your friend's partnership in your troubles?... in time of need extends a helping hand.}

54. {39} A person who is too tied to property and earthly love {Tk: loves the things of this world and hungrily searches for a high position} cannot be fit for friendship, because he will always strive for his own benefit to the harm of another {Tk: and will try to harm others}.

55. {40} In every task, turn for advice to those who know more than you and are guileless (without grudge). {AP reverses order.} One person's mind cannot be expert in every task.

56. {41} Do not compare the significance (merit) of a word with the circumstances under which it is spoken, there are times when the ignoramus says such a thing that surprises the shrewd {Tk Cy: an ignoramus speaks such (AP: intelligent), words that the intelligent will be charmed}, or the intelligent sometimes make such an error that the ignorant would not make.

57. {42} By doing good, you make a free man your slave. If you give trouble, with torment you drive away from yourself {your own}¹ slaves.

{AP: By means of goodness, you can make a free, virtuous man a slave, but when you give trouble, slaves run from you. Tk Cy ends: in their submission they will repudiate you. Also differences in words, e.g. "slave" is rendered as "bende" in AP and in Tk Cy as "kul."}

58. {43} Avoid eating too much, because it is harmful to the health of your body and mind.

59. {44} Do not do all that your heart thirsts for, but do that which your mind demands because the mind chooses {AP: is able to distinguish} good and evil.

{Tk begins: Do not indulge yourself, fulfill the desires of your mind...}

60. {45} There is no wealth better than mind and knowledge {Tk Cy: above your intelligence and aspiration}. They are always with you and no one can take them from you.

61. {46} When you want to give advice to someone, if you want to give your expertise concerning his work, [do it] in secret [because if he is] in the company of other people he will not accept it and may be offended by you.

62. {47} Whatever promise you make, try to fulfill it, that another time if you again make a promise, others will believe that it too you will fulfill.

¹ Words "your own" were inserted by translators into Russian translation.

{AP: final wording different in use of "icra etmek" for "fulfill" unlike Tk Cy "yerine yetirmek."}

63. {48} As much as possible do not accept things which another gives {Tk Cy: do not take loans or things from another}, because in his eyes you will seem base and to you he will seem great.

64. {49} Do not put off until tomorrow a task that you see today, perhaps tomorrow you will not be able to do it.

65. {50} Make piety your motto; whoever commits amoral offenses, loses honor and faith, and he will be dishonored in the eyes of the people.

{Tk begins: Make rightness your motto, if everyone abandons himself to "crookedness," (AP: his) shame and faith leave...}

66. {51} If you know a person's flaws, try to conceal them, so that God will cover your flaws.

{AP: When you see the flaws and evils of another, do not try to divulge them; Tk Cy:... try not to spread them...}

67. {52} When there is the probability that there is good, do not construe a person's actions as bad, perhaps it was advisable and you still do not appreciate its use(fulness). {AP: its real nature. Tk Cy: its meaning}.

68. {53} A person is famous not for his lineage but for his personal achievement. A worthy son does not need a high birth {lit: descent}, a degenerate is a disgrace to [his] family.

{Tk Cy: A person's honor is according to his own talent and not his lineage. Intelligent progeny have no need of lineage, worthless progeny destroy the lineage's name. AP varies slightly from Tk Cy.}

69. {54} That which you consider to be bad for yourself do not employ with relation to others, so that recompense (retribution) for it will not be ascribed (fall) to you.

{Tk: What you do not regard as permissible (reva görmemek) for yourself, do not regard as permissible for another, that otherwise you will receive punishment from some other {person}.}

70. {55} Inasmuch as people of all religions, even the idolworshippers, believe in a retribution for the commission of sins, whatever good or evil you do to another you do to yourself.

{Tk: Every religion, even Buddhism, has such good beliefs as: every desire has its punishment. Whatever good or evil you do to anyone you are doing to yourself.}

71. {56} When uttering any word or performing any act, do not be certain that you are alone and no one knows about you; it is very possible that [the act] will be found out; likewise it will [then] be believed that every act which is committed [by you] is bad, and [you will be] quickly disgraced.

{Tk: If you speak every word or execute every action in secret, do not be assured that you are in seclusion (alone, unobserved) and another will not know this [word or act]. It often happens that those words or that effort will be revealed and you will be dishonored.}

72. {57} Do not wish anyone ill, be honorable in matters of commerce {lit: sale and purchase}; do not encroach on that which has been entrusted to you, so that you will not fall into the wrath of God and will not be cursed by the people.

{Tk: Do not do harm to anyone, be pure on your own account (for your own sake?), do not abuse your trusts (things entrusted to you) that ... (elipsis in Tk C'y text, none in AP.) that the people will turn away from you.}

73. {58} Be kind to your relatives and to those people attached to them and {AP: try to} help them, that they will also be kind to you.

74. {59} Behave well toward your neighbors and those around you so that they behave toward you in a like manner. You are one and they are many [and] it is clear that the one is in need of the many.

{Tk: Show goodness and get along (Tk Cy: "mudara," suggests feigned friendship; AP as "yahşi davran," "behave well") with your neighbors and the local people that they will show friendship {here both texts use "mudara"} to you. Know that you are one and they are many... {ellipsis in Tk Cy text, none in AP.} That the lone person must be cautious toward the many is obvious.}

75. {60} Avoid [people] with a foul character and bad nature, for [this] ruins all the beauty of morals. A person of bad nature suffers from his own temper, to say nothing of [suffering from] other people.

{Tk Cy: Beware of those with a bad character and of the quality of having a bad character, for they spoil good morals (AP: good character will come to nought); a person with bad character, inflicts pain upon himself (AP: will suffer from his own character), so what can he expect from the people. (In some passages wording differs, e.g., for "bad character," AP uses "bedmizaç" where Tk Cy gives "pis haysiyyet.")}.

76. {61} In doing good to anyone, neither openly nor by signs obligate him for the aid you rendered, or the value of the good will be lost and injury will proliferate in place of kindness.

{AP:... do not by innuendo hang an obligation around his neck... the importance of the good is lost and in place of pleasantness, grief will blossom.}

77. {62} That person is considered intelligent who sees his own faults more than those of others and attaches less importance to his own skills than to those of others.

{Tk Cy:... knows little of his own capabilities.}

78. {63} If someone does a wrong to you, be a bit patient and rid yourself of it with mildness. If there is no other alternative than to answer his wrong, do only a like measure, to repel his evil, and no more.

{Tk Cy: If someone injures you, respond with self-restraint; if you must respond in kind, be rid of his wrong only and give no further trouble.}

79. {64} Seek friendship as much as possible because from hostility only regret is born.

{Tk Cy: Try to earn as many friends as possible because enmity multiplies regret.}

80. {65} Do not suppose any enemy to be powerless, it is probable that he has a powerful friends or has ties with men of ability {"or has ties..." lacking in 'Tk Cy} and they will help him.

81. {66} Do not keep hatred in your heart for another that your own peace of heart and trust {Tk Cy: peace of mind} will be lost.

{AP: different words. e.g., for "hatred" uses "adavet" where Tk Cy uses "kin," for "heart" uses "yürek" where Tk Cy uses "kalb" and final phrase (lit.) is "your heart's peace will be lost."}

82. {67} When you hear from someone something bad about yourself, immediately express yourself to him; you will understand the truth or falsity of the words you heard from his behavior.

{AP: When you hear that someone has spoken badly of you, do not be quick to confront that person with these words, the truth or correctness of the words will be known to you through that one's actions and speech.}

{Tk Cy: If someone reported unfavorably of you, do not confront the individual who has done this....}

83. {68} Make use of the fortune (means) given to you by God in this world and the next. The person who hoards deprives himself of [his] fortune for [it, i.e. the fortune] is easily lost or is passed on to heirs.

{Tk: Wealth you gather is for spending in this world and the next. If every one were miserly {"hasis;" AP: "pahil") and hoarded wealth, they would deprive themselves of [the pleasure of] this wealth because either it will perish from some event or will be left to the descendents.}

{AP: for "the good in the next world," gives "ahiret menafî'ini," where Cy gives "ahiret işleri.}

84. {69} When spending wealth, one should not squander it, so that, from unskillful expenditures, it will not be lost to a use for which it was expected. {Tk Cy: Because it might not be available when you need to spend it in a more needed place.}

85. {70} When you do wrong, no benefit will accrue from it. Instead you will be left with sin and a bad name.

{Tk Cy: A wicked act will never do you good, but will leave you with a bad name. For "bad name," AP uses "badnamelik" where Tk Cy uses "pis ad." Tk versions omit "sin."}

86. {71} A person derives pleasure twice from a good action: first when one performs it, second when one is repaid for it.

87. {72} Since everything in the world is doomed to destruction, do not attach yourself {AP: soil yourself by firm attachment} to anything so that when it suddenly is destroyed, your life will not be unbearable {AP: because when it meets decline you will suffer torment}.

{Tk Cy: Inasmuch as it is true that nothing in the world is eternal. With every thing that is destroyed, do not make yourself suffer... (elipsis in Tk Cy text.)}

88. {73} Do not destroy your life with matters that you will later have to abandon.

{AP: slight wording differences: "terk etmek" for "abandon" where Tk Cy has "el çekmek."}

89. {74} Have patience when you are preparing a task, but hurry in the execution! For much time is needed to understand the value of a task, for its fulfillment an appropriate moment is enough.

{AP: Think well when you take on a task (Tk Cy: Do not hurry in the planning of a task) and then do not neglect its fulfillment, because in order to comprehend a task much time is necessary, but to execute it, [one] opportunity is sufficient (Tk Cy: but little [time is needed] for its accomplishment).}

90. {75} Do not complain of poverty or misfortune, for in this world there are many {Tk: those} in greater poverty or misfortune than you, and if they were like you (in a like situation), they would consider themselves fortunate... (Italics in Tk Cy text, but not in AP.)

91. The world was created by God in accord with rules, and order. All people in it cannot be equal, just as in one body the ear cannot manage that which is demanded of the eye, the hand cannot do what the mouth does. God created each [of these] in one form which is necessary for its appointed task.

92. Similarly, as people are distinguished by (external) figure and voice, [they] are distinguished also by their knowledge and morals. Inasmuch as we know the Sovereign of the world to be wise, there is no place for reproach in the fact that for some reason He made one person this way and another that way.

93. {76} When some job you have done does not yield the result you wanted, check to see {AP think over} whether the fault lies with yourself. Often we do not fulfill the affairs according to the dictates of the mind and later blame others {Tk: Often it happens that we do not conduct our affairs with reason and then blame others... (Tk Cy and AP texts end here with elipsis)}, and worst of all, thinking God a hindrance to useful affairs, we say "God did not provide."

94. {77} It is necessary to observe moderation in all circumstances. Both extravagance and miserliness are evil. Although gentleness is the best of morals, even anger has its own place. Consequently, the intelligent one is the one who always, in all circumstances, maintains moderation.

{Tk: It is necessary always to observe temperateness. If we give free rein to miserliness and waste, we will see no good. Even with kindness and a wonderful character, sometimes anger is accepted {beyenilir} in its place. That means the intelligent person is one who, in all matters, adopts temperateness.}

95. {78} Do not try to save a guilty person from a justly given punishment, because others dare to do evil deeds and to torment the poor. {AP ends: doing so will embolden others to do wrong and will create trouble for the pitiable.}

{Tk Cy: Do not try to cause reconcilliation to a guilty person, because when you do, this will embolden wicked people and trouble the weak.}

96. {79} If one whom you know to be blameless is unjustly punished, by every means {AP: to the extent possible} save him from calamity and slander {Tk versions end here} so that God will consider others in obligation to give you help in calamity.

97. {80} That person is called unlucky who, even when he is able, does not do good to others. {Tk end here} Meanwhile, after the rendering of good it is necessary [for the recipient?] sincerely to give a blessing, that it turns out to the benefactors to be of the same essence as he himself. (?)

{AP: different phrasing, e.g., "enden gelmek" for "able" where Tk Cy has "bacarmak."

98. Without deeds and merits in vain one hopes for the benefits of God, for to give undeservedly means to give in error.

99. {81} In all your tasks, supervise their fulfillment yourself, because no one will hold your profit above his own good. Besides that, since there are various kinds of "precision" it is very difficult for another to be able to fulfill in every way the task at the same level that you want.

100. {82} It is not possible to do a job that requires help without that help. Because, one person cannot do every job alone, perhaps he will be occupied with the details and forget the important aspects. In other words it is necessary when you delegate any task to another to oversee how he fulfills it.

101. {83} Take on work according to your own strength and talent, not simply according to your desires. It often happens that a person runs after much but produces little.

102. {84} Do good to every person according to his own condition, for a small thing suits someone according to his taste more than a significant thing.

{Tk Cy: for it often happens that an insignificant thing more often than a big thing accrues to a person's benefit.}

103. Although in affairs we have our own will, still if God does not wish it, then we can do nothing. Therefore it is necessary, in order that we ourselves take appropriate measures and beneficially fulfill them, that we petition the Sovereign of the world.

God knows the truth and to Him is restitution.

A. L. A.

ISMAIL BEY GASPRINSKII'S *PEREVODCHIK/TERCÜMAN*: A CLARION OF MODERNISM¹

Edward J. Lazzerini

Es is der Geist der sich den Körper baut,
Friedrich Schiller²

*The absence of ideas and aspirations...
demoralizes a people, lulls them to sleep,
and enfeebles them.*

Ismail Bey Gasprinskii³

During the 1870s, a young man from the southern portion of Tavrida Province, ancestral home of the Crimean Tatars who once figured crucially in the political and economic life of eastern Europe, wrestled with a complex of social conditions that he deemed intolerable. Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, then in his twenties, was hardly unique in this respect. For some time young subjects throughout the Russian Empire — people of varied ethnic background — had been pondering the fate of their country, had been encouraged to nurture a social consciousness by the writings of men like Alexander Herzen and, more recently, Nikolai Chernyshevskii, and had been engaged in both spontaneous and organized activities aimed at changing Russia. Like the "new people" celebrated in the latter's novel *What is to be Done?*, these youths were angry with the socio-economic and political status quo and the traditions sustaining it; many were willing to sacrifice personal advantage and aspirations for the general good, however variously defined. Some would choose terror as their preferred tactic.

¹I view "modernism" as a discourse reflecting innumerable material and technical changes in the character of Western civilization at least since the sixteenth century but entailing, most critically, an epistemological break with the past. Among the features of this discourse that distinguish it from those that represented and shaped all "pre-modern" societies is the belief that the future is not predictable, especially in some teleological sense, but is rendered calculable through the application of human reason. The future, thus will not only be novel but will be better than the past, and mankind will continuously transcend its always (and merely) "current" limitations by treating knowledge not as a fixed commodity that mainly reflects reality, but as an instrument to push it into different directions.

The technicalism and economic advance that has accompanied the emergence of the modern discourse, however, should not suggest the equation of "modernism" with "modernization," a term justly criticized for its implicit determinism. Nor should one presume an identity between "modernism" and "Westernization" because Western civilization chanced upon the path leading to the "modern" first, and then exploited its advantages globally over the last one hundred and fifty years.

²Friedrich Schiller, *Wallensteins Tod*, III, 13.

³Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, untitled article, *Perevodchik/Tercüman*, No. 18 (May 7, 1895), p. 41. Hereafter the newspaper will be cited as *P/T*.

Gasprinskii shared similar sentiments, though he was not one of the latter extremists. Throughout a life committed to improving mankind's material and spiritual well-being, he consistently rejected violence resolutely affirming, instead, the long-term value of rational discourse, dissemination of information, and education for achieving the desired social transformation along modern lines. Like many of his contemporaries who matured in the intellectual climate of the 1850s-1870s, he developed into an unequivocal advocate of the ideology of progress that served to legitimize the modern perspective. Trusting in the truth-discovering power of empirical science and the efficacy of human reason, will, and energy, Gasprinskii was convinced that popular discipline and (re)education would unleash a boundless store of human creativity and turn it to the task of shaping the future. An armed spirit, as the German poet Schiller implied, could give dreams concrete expression.

Gasprinskii differed from other idealists of his generation, of course, by virtue of his being not merely a Russian(ized) subject but also, a Tatar reared in the local variant of the greater Islamic cultural tradition¹. Discovering and living that more complex identity, with its special demands and burdens imposed largely by an imperial policy that proclaimed people bearing it to be *inorodtsy* ("others") and marginalized them through administrative measures, complicated the gigantic mission Gasprinskii undertook. As a result, he had to contend with opposition from not only Muslim detractors but also, and more importantly, Russian ones.²

Minimizing that overt opposition and overcoming the apathy and more subtle resistance to change, typical of the general Muslim populace became Ismail Bey's most challenging task. What had to be done, he decided not long after the mid-1870s, was to devise a multi-faceted strategy for enhancing intra- and inter-cultural communication, whether of ideas, skills, sensibilities, or even fears. Organizing new types of schools to create the proper environment for learning consistent with the needs of modern life was one such element of that strategy; so too were the encouragement of book publishing, with

¹The description of Gasprinskii as "Russian(ized)" has nothing to do with tsarist administrative efforts to assimilate non-Russian minorities into the dominant Great Russian culture, with an implied loss of native identity. It does, rather, acknowledge that he was not merely a subject of a 'Russian' empire but was affected by that condition even if we cannot determine to what exact extent. How could he not be? He lived his life within the Empire, attended Russian schools, moved in Russian circles, used the Russian language more effectively than his own native tongue, always employed the Russianized version of his family name in print (even when he published in Turkic), and so forth.

²For a discussion of the kinds of opposition that Gasprinskii had to face, see my "Ismail Bey Gasprali, the Discourse of Modernism, and the Russians," in *Tatars of the Crimea: Their Struggle for Survival*, E. Allworth, Ed. (Durham, 1988).

contents reflecting decidedly practical concerns, and the organization of mutual aid societies to consolidate resources and focus social activity. As a result, over the span of thirty years Gasprinskii had a direct hand in, or inspired by his example, the establishment of thousands of reformed (*usul-i cedid* — "new method") primary and secondary schools within Muslim communities inside Russia and out. Simultaneously a small but productive printing facility that he owned and managed in Bakhchisarai contributed no small number of books and pamphlets to the growing array of *cedid* literature, whether for direct use in the new schools or to stimulate within the general reading public an appreciation of modern ways. Lastly, the number of mutual aid societies grew rapidly, especially after the turn of the century, adding their important share to the evolving sense of community across Russian Islam¹. Together such activities represented fundamental innovations in the experience of Muslims. In the midst of it all, he struggled to allay Russian fears of what the Muslims were up to, and sought to convince them and his co-religionists of the benefits to be derived from dialogue based upon respect and the realization of common purpose.

Central to Gasprinskii's overall strategy, however, was his determination to found and sustain a newspaper. Until he received official permission to publish what would be Russia's longest-running Turkic-language newspaper prior to 1917, the periodical press was virtually unknown among his cultural brethren despite occasional efforts to initiate it in Kazan, Tiflis, Tashkent, and Baku. Responding to a comment from a visiting Russian in 1888 that the native population did not provide particularly fertile soil in which Gasprinskii's enterprise could flourish, the budding publisher acknowledged: "Even a short time ago there were few Muslims who could answer the question: What is a newspaper?"² Yet here he knew was the one means by which he could most effectively propagandize his grand project, reach the widest audience, and overcome opposition to modernism; here too was a vehicle with extraordinary power to chip away at the entrenched prejudice fortifying Russian and Muslim against one another, prejudice born, he believed, of ignorance and misinformation. Moreover, a newspaper could serve to rally the fragile and widely dispersed forces already awakened to the

¹What that sense of community entailed cannot be ascertained at this time because no one has investigated the subject at the popular level. We can determine, at best, what only a few thought, and even then must face overlapping and frequently contradictory views. Gasprinskii offers an apt example, articulating the perspectives of a Turk, a Muslim, and a son of Russia as the need arose. I see no duplicity here; only the dilemma of the thoughtful person, especially in difficult and transitional times. Thus, community as *umma* in the classical Islamic sense came to share, along with "community" as tribe and nation, the mental universe of those like Gasprinskii for whom the concept was not an end but a tool.

²S. Filippov, *Po Krymu. Otrazheniia* (Moscow, 1889), p. 73.

benefits of progress, and encourage them through the difficult times that inevitably lay ahead, all the while serving as a forum for modernist agenda. As he wrote in his first editorial statement: "[The newspaper] will serve so far as possible to bring sober, useful information to Muslims about [Russian] culture and, conversely, acquaint the Russian with [Muslim] life, views, and needs."¹ And as he later commented, "[f]or the revival of a great people, who have long remained in ignorance, the press will play a crucial role."²

The newspaper about which Gasprinskii wrote and to which he devoted the fullest measure of resources and energy was the first of several that he would sponsor. Its most distinguishing feature was its dual-language format: a Russian text with a Turkic translation. Along with the usual information about date and place of publication (and price), the masthead bore the title *Perevodchik* for the Russian portion and *Tercüman* for the Turkic. Each means "translator" or "interpreter." Title and format thus speak to the essential purpose of the publication: to elucidate the natures of Islamic and Russian/Western cultures for wide-spread public consumption across cultural lines so as to encourage both the revitalization of Islamic society and its *sbližhenie* (rapprochement) with the Russian³. The anticipated consequences were, on the one hand, an end to the mental complacency of Muslims that stifled economic development, encouraged social indifference, and engendered political weakness; on the other, a beginning to an equal partnership between Muslim and Russian in shaping a more just, harmonious, and strengthened empire. A tall order for one man and his fledgling newspaper, but not for Gasprinskii and *Perevodchik/Tercüman*, propelled as they both were by the

¹ *P/T*, No. 1 (April 10, 1883), p. 1.

² Cited in Alexandre Bennigsen and Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejay, *La Presse et le mouvement national chez les Musulmans de Russie avant 1920* (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1964), p. 15. No source is provided.

³ Gasprinskii's advocacy of *sbližhenie* poses something of an embarrassment because it coincides in form if not spirit with a primary goal of Soviet nationalities policy since at least the Stalin era. In fact, a recent article by Klimovich ("Na sluzhbe prosveshchenia : O pervoi tiurkoiazycznej gazete 'Terdzhiman' i ee izdatеле I. Gasprinskom," *Zvezda vostoka*, No. 8 [1987], pp. 173-179) that in effect rehabilitates Gasprinskii, does so largely on the basis of his appeal for *sbližhenie*. That Gasprinskii may have felt compelled for political reasons to propose rapprochement is a possibility not easily dismissed. Yet in light of reading the extant corpus of his writings, setting it against the contexts within which he wrote, and being as sensitive as I can be to the burdens of official censorship. I have no significant doubts about his commitment to the goal. Consider several other items: (a) Gasprinskii's daughter, Šefika, insisted in several interviews with me that her father's public position vis-à-vis Russo-Muslim relations was sincere and not the consequence of having to bow to censorship; (b) after 1905 many Tatars vilified Gasprinskii for his ideas and methods, yet when the opportunity had by that time arrived to take a more anti-Russian stance, Ismail Bey refused; and (c) when asked why he did not emigrate to Turkey as other Russian Muslims had, Gasprinskii made it clear that it was worthwhile to remain in the Empire to work for change. Not surprisingly, his position on Crimean Tatar emigration throughout the nineteenth century reflected the same attitude.

unflagging belief that with effort and time, "little things become large, difficult things easy, [and] distant things close."¹

* * *

From all corners of Russia Muslim merchants came to the Nizhni-Novgorod fair. Each year I went there to propagandize [my ideas]... But so as not to draw official suspicion to myself,... I collected subscribers for my newspaper.

Ismail Bey Gasprinskii²

A man struggling to change one culture subsumed within another, dominant one, by means of discourse that relies upon the technical achievements of the printing revolution only recently available to Russian Islam, needs an audience. The trips he made to the Nizhni-Novgorod fair, and later to other important Muslim centers, were sensible responses to an obvious problem that would only abate with time. Held annually in August for two weeks, the fair was Russia's most important.³ But it had significance even greater than its vital economic functions: the participation of a large number of Muslim merchants and businessmen, particularly of Volga Tatar ethnicity. Because of their long-standing involvement in far-flung commercial activity, their significant diaspora, consequent extensive contacts, influences, experiences, as well as competitive spirit that made them more open to change, Gasprinskii recognized in the Volga Tatars a potential ally and shrewdly sought their support.⁴ He did so, however, only after he had developed a project that they and other Muslims, he hoped, would find attractive. That project — a search for means by which to propagandize his modernist position — took several years of intense and often frustrated effort to consummate.

¹*P/T*, No. 8 (March 8, 1891), p.

²T. Boiadzhiev, *Krymsko-tatarskaia moloezh' v revoliutsii* (Simferopol, 1930), p. 16, citing a pamphlet Gasprinskii wrote in 1912 entitled *Mekteb* (which I have been unable to trace).

³The fair is most extensively treated in Anne Lincoln Fitzpatrick, "The Nizhni Novgorod Fair, 1840-1890," Phd dissertation, The University of Virginia, 1980.

⁴The impact of the Tatar commercial class not only on business and industrial development but also on the social and intellectual evolution of their society in the nineteenth century deserves fuller examination. Beginnings can be found in: G. Gubaidullin, "Iz proshlogo Tatar," *Materialy po izucheniiu Tatarstana*, II (Kazan, 1925), pp. 71-111; Idem., *Iz istorii torgovoogo klassa privolzhskikh tatar* (Baku, 1926); Azade-Ayse Rorlich, "The Roots of the Tatar Bourgeoisie: Its Financial Support of the *Jadid* Education," unpublished; and Kh. Kh. Khasanov, *Formirovanie tatarskoi burzhuaiznoi natsii* (Kazan, 1977).

For about four years before 1883, Ismail Bey tested several alternatives. In 1879 he submitted his first request to Russian officials for permission to establish a newspaper. This followed by two years the closure of Hasan Bey Melikov Zerdabi's *Ekinçi*, the very first Turkic-language newspaper in Russia, and occurred at approximately the same time that Said and Celal Unsizade in Tiflis were authorized to begin publishing their newspaper *Ziya*. Rejection of Gasprinskii's request remains inexplicable, as does the similar fate of subsequent petitions he submitted to "two governors and three ministers."¹ Differences between Crimea and Caucasus in local conditions, as well as administrative leadership and regulations, however, may have been instrumental.

With this avenue closed to him for the moment, he turned to other forms of publishing. Beginning in May 1881 and continuing into the following year, he produced at irregular intervals twelve "newletters" of one to two pages each.² Written in Crimean Tatar, they contained not only articles of general interest but also a number dealing with language reform, a subject that would figure prominently throughout his career.³ To avoid charges that he was managing a periodical without official authorization, Gasprinskii gave each newsletter a different name.⁴ Of the twelve, I have been able to identify eight: *Tonguç*, *Şefak*, *Kamer*, *Ay*, *Yıldız*, *Güneş*, *Hakikat*, and *Latail*. For lack of a press in Bakhchisarai capable of printing the Arabic script, the first two were issued in Tiflis by the Unsizade brothers in quantities of five hundred and one thousand respectively.⁵ Gasprinskii managed to print all subsequent editions in Bakhchisarai (in undetermined count) because he would gain permission during the summer of 1881 to open a printing establishment. With that permission in hand, he traveled to St. Petersburg, commissioned the printing of a circular announcing his publishing plans (fifty issues of the newsletter a year, for three rubles), and then traveled through several provinces distributing the circulars. It was August 1881 and the fair at Nizhnii Novgorod was in progress. From it, despite significant resistance to the idea of a "secular

¹Quoted in Dzh. Validov, *Ocherk istorii obrazovannosti i literatury tatar do revoliutsii 1917 goda* (Moscow, 1924), p. 82. At this stage, Gasprinskii thought to entitle his newspaper "mekteb" and then "*Faideli iklençe*."

²E. Kirimal, "Ismail Bey Gasprali," *Dergi*, XVI, No. 62 (1970), p. 62. No copy of any of these newsletters appears to be extant, although a photograph of *Tonguç* was printed in *Türk Yurdu*, No. 72 (1330 [1914], facing p. 2399).

³Y. Akçuraoglu, "Türkçülük," *Türk Yılı: 1928* (Istanbul, 1928), p. 342; A.Z.V. Togan, "Gasprali (Gasprinski), İsmail," *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (second ed.; London, 1965), II, p. 980.

⁴A. Akçokraklı, "Kart Muallim ve yaziçilarimizdan Ismail Gasprinski," *Oku Isleri*, No. 2 (June, 1925), p. 10.

⁵Unless otherwise noted, the basic facts about these years in Gasprinskii's career come from his own pen as found in *P/T*, No. 24 (November 25, 1883), pp. 47-48.

publication," at least some Muslim merchants carried the announcement with their wares "to all significant places in European and Asiatic Russia." Shortly after returning home, he began setting up the press, training typesetters, and turning out the newsletters, buoyed by support from about two hundred and fifty subscribers.

This auspicious beginning, however, was stalled for reasons still obscure. Only ten of the promised fifty newsletters followed upon the heels of *Tonguç* and *Şefak*, with Gasprinskii suggesting that the authorities had caught up with his game and forced him to cease publishing that which "had the character of a periodical." In the confusion that followed, and the embarrassment with regard to his subscribers, Ismail Bey settled on two strategies: first, the compilation, printing, and distribution among those patrons of two booklets as partial compensation; and second, a renewed attempt to persuade government authorities to allow him to start a newspaper.

The booklets in question were hurriedly put together, as Gasprinskii admits himself. Nevertheless they proved typical of so many others that he would author over the next thirty years: didactic, informational, simple, and straightforward, they were, in a phrase, little more than primers. The first was *Salname-yi Türkî* (A Turkî Almanac), a "calendar" in the nineteenth-century sense entailing a compendium of information "necessary for the coming year."¹ To compile the data Gasprinskii drew upon almanacs, geographies, statistical works, and other sources in Russian, Turkish, and French. Its contents ranged from history and geography to contemporary events, education in various lands, the press, train schedules, and even a description of the history, spread, and treatment of syphilis. The second and much shorter booklet was *Mir'at-i cedid* (The New Mirror), again a collection of diverse materials including an article on the life of animals, an itinerary for a pilgrimage to Mecca by Russian Muslims, an essay on tea, a vignette on the cafe owner, a brief history of Istanbul, and a description of the Aurora Borealis. To supplement the text Gasprinskii inserted several illustrations (as of a tea plant), a "remarkable" decision that he felt obliged to explain — and did so in terms of the demands of modern scientific analysis — to readers accustomed to the traditional Islamic prohibition against portrayal of living things.²

¹ Ismail al-Gasfari [Gasprinskii], *Salname-yi Türkî* (Bakhchisarai, 1882), p. 1.

² [Ismail Bey Gasprinskii], *Mir'at-i Cedid* (Bakhchisarai, 1882), p. 1. In a pamphlet published in 1901 entitled *Beden-i İnsan* (The Human Body), Gasprinskii went one step further by including anatomical drawings of the subject treated.

As for his second strategy, persistence reaped its reward. A petition addressed and personally delivered in St. Petersburg to Count Dmitrii Tolstoi (Minister of Internal Affairs) in August 1882 received a positive response. Gasprinskii was permitted to begin publishing a weekly newspaper whose contents were to be printed in both Russian and Turkic and which would be subject to the preliminary review of a special censor.¹ Although available sources discuss this episode only superficially, several considerations may explain why success was finally achieved when it was: the involvement of V. D. Smirnov, the publication of Gasprinskii's essay *Russkoe musul'manstvo*, and the soon-to-be celebrated one hundredth anniversary of the Russian conquest and incorporation of the Crimea.

An orientalist-historian by training, Smirnov almost certainly had a hand, perhaps a crucial one, in the events leading up to Gasprinskii's hard-won victory.² If only as a result of his professional interests and duties, Smirnov could hardly avoid being attracted to Gasprinskii: as a historian, he maintained a life-long fascination with the Crimea and published several studies of the pre-Russian period of the region's history; as an accomplished linguist with a thorough knowledge of a number of Turkic languages, he served as censor of Muslim publications in Russia; and as a student of Islamic culture, he found himself heavily involved in the problems of educating the empire's Muslims at a time when the issue was a subject of intense debate, writing articles for the official journal of the Ministry of Public Education dealing with the matter both in general terms and as it applied specifically to the Crimea³.

The publication of *Russkoe musul'manstvo* in booklet form after being serialized in a local Russian newspaper introduced Gasprinskii's name and ideas to the Russian reading public.⁴ While many would find much in this

¹Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, "10 Aprelia 1883-1893 g.," a supplement to *P/T*, No. 13 (April 18, 1893). A laudatory article on Tolstoi appeared as "Graf D.A. Tolstoi," *P/T*, No. 9 (June 17, 1883), p. 19.

²For a biographical sketch of Smirnov, see V.A. Gordlevskii, "Pamiati V.D. Smirnova (1846-1922)," *Akademik V.A. Gordlevskii. Izbrannye sochineniia* (Moscow, 1968), IV, pp. 408-414.

³Smirnov's relevant historical writings include *Krymskoe Khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoi Porty do nachala XVIII verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoi Porty x XVIII stoletii* (Odessa, 1889). For his interest in the problems of Muslim education in Russia, see: "Neskol'ko slov ob uchebnikakh russkago iazyka dlia tatarskikh narodnykh shkol," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniia*, CLXXIX, No. 1 (1877), pp. 1-25 (third pagination), and "Pom voprosu o shkol'nom obrazovanii inorodtsev-musul-man," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniia*, CCXXII, No. 7 (1882), pp. 1-24 (second pagination).

⁴Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, *Russkoe musul'manstvo. Mysli, zametki i nabliudeniiia musul'manina* (Sirafropol, 1881).

essay with which to disagree¹, Ismail Bey's call for *sblizhenie* between Russians and Muslims, his assertion of unqualified Muslim loyalty to the Russian state, and his condemnation of the old Muslim educational system, among other things, must have made him an attractive figure save to the most ardent imperial reactionary. Himself a hostile critic of traditional Islamic education and religious obscurantism, Smirnov must have appreciated the sympathetic arguments of this Russianized Crimean Tatar. And if a comment he made in 1905 concerning *Perevodchik/Tercüman* is telling at all — that the newspaper "promised a great deal with its appearance" — then we can reasonably assume his initial approval.²

A third factor that may have influenced the response to Ismail Bey's latest petition is rather more complicated and relates indirectly to the April 1883 anniversary of one hundred years of Russian rule over the Crimea. While no internal memoranda or records of official discussions surrounding the issue have been uncovered to date to sustain the argument, government leaders may very well have decided to permit the creation of a native-language newspaper in conjunction with the celebration for the following complex of reasons: (1) the historical significance of the eighteenth-century event and the economic and strategic gains expected for the empire even after a full century; (2) conversely, the difficulties that the region had had in fulfilling many expectations, especially economic ones, and the overall decline in the quality of life of its native inhabitants that generated a certain amount of visible

¹Critiques of Gasprinskii's essay be found in *Istoricheskoe i sovremennoe znachenie khristianskogo missionerstva sredi musul'man* (Kazan, 1894 — volume 20 of *Missionerskii protivomusul'manskii shorniki*, particularly pp. 261-271; N.P. Ostroumov, *Chto takoe Koran? Po povodu statei G. Gasprinskago, Devlet Kil'deeva i Mirzu Alima* (Tahhkent, 1883); and, most importantly, in two publications by M. Miropiev: "Kakii nachala dolzhny byt' polozheny v osnovu obrazovaniia russkikh inorodtse-musul'man? Po povodu broshyury Ismail-beia Gasprinskago," *Rus'*, IV, No. 17 (September 1, 1884), pp. 24-41, and *O polozhenii russkikh inorodtsev* (St. Petersburg, 1901), esp. Ch. I.

²*Vysochaishie uchrezhdennoe Osoboe soveshchanie dlia sostavleniia novogo ustava o pechati* (n.p., 1905), p. 29. Smirnov had been invited to give testimony before the committee on the subject of Muslim publishing in Russia. Among other things, he expressed his opposition to a proposal that would have eliminated the *predvaritel'nyi tsenzor* (preliminary censor) for works published in any of the "Islamic" languages. All things considered, Smirnov proves a most curious actor in the history of Russian Islamic publishing and in that of Gasprinskii's personal efforts. Statements made by Ismail Bey (which could conceivably have been deceptive), but also by others much later, including Seydahmet (see note 34 below) and Gasprinskii's daughter, leave an unambiguously positive impression of Smirnov. Şefika Hanım insisted, for example, that her father and his first censor were friends and that Gasprinskii believed Smirnov to be a "good, intelligent man who had a friendly interest in the welfare of Russian *imorodtsy*." Moreover, she confirmed that it was Smirnov who helped her father obtain permission to open *P/T*, and who showed him great trust during the period he served as the budding publisher's censor. Who, then, was the "real" Smirnov? Probably both the supporter (in 1882-1883) of a "respectable" Tatar's newspaper and the man (in a very different Russia of 1905) worried about unleashing the power of free publishing to all kinds of Tatars (e.g., obscurantist mullas, let alone radicals). I find nothing startling in this seeming contradiction, but see humans acting in such a manner all the time.

discontent and mutual distrust, leading to (3) the apparent sympathy for and dependence upon the Ottoman Empire (with whom Russia had had frequent conflicts, the most recent being in 1877-1878) that Crimean Tatars continued to display in various ways — e.g., through occasional and usually massive emigration to Turkey and heavy reliance upon imported Turkish mullas.

Whatever the circumstances that gained him permission to publish a newspaper, Gasprinskii plunged ahead with efforts to produce *Perevodchik/Tercüman*. Its first number appeared on April 10, 1883, just missing the anniversary celebration by two days, perhaps because of the need to send copy to St. Petersburg for prior review by Smirnov, the newspaper's first censor. It had been put to press in part with Arabic type imported from Istanbul and by a typesetter from the same place. A year would pass before Ismail Bey managed to train local men to assist with the various printing tasks. Even then the dual-language character of the newspaper continued to cause problems to the typesetters who only slowly learned to "compose Russian texts and ceased to confuse the Tatar."¹

The first few years of *Perevodchik/Tercüman's* existence proved financially unstable. Some help came from the dowry that Zühre Hanım brought to her marriage to Gasprinskii in 1881 and from the sale of a legacy bequeathed by his mother, but the key to long-range survival of the newspaper depended upon how successful its publisher would prove in attracting subscribers. The task was daunting. Everywhere he faced extraordinary apathy, mistrust, and cynicism. Two episodes, both occurring during junkets to a major Muslim community in search of support, illustrate his difficulties. The first transpired in Kazan in 1882. Renting a large hall in one of the local hotels and advertising a literary soiree for the city's Tatar community, Gasprinskii planned to give a talk on the advantages of reading and writing and on the Muslim languages. As he recounted the evening, however,

Nine o'clock arrived. I waited another two hours but only three visitors showed up, not from Kazan but out-of-towners. One of them was Allahyar Bey from the Caucasus, and the other two were the brothers Şakir and Zakir Ramiev, the future publishers of *Vakit* [a Tatar-language newspaper] in Orenburg. The event, of course, did not take place, but among these travelers meeting by chance in Kazan there passed a very useful exchange.²

¹S. Filippov, *Po Krymu*, p. 77.

²Dzh. Validov, *Ocherk istorii*, p. 52.

According to Cemaleddin Validov, the only native of Kazan who approved of Gasprinskii's plan for a newspaper and encouraged him in his endeavor was the prominent reformist *âlim* and historian Şihabeddin Mercanî.¹ But even sympathizers could have their doubts as shown in a letter from Şakir Ramiev to his brother probably not long after they had met Ismail Bey:

You have seen yourself, so you know, that our people do not pay attention to the words of those who do not wear a ... turban on their heads. Some people were frightened when they heard that Gasprinskii was preparing to publish a newspaper, and brandishing their sticks from afar they said: "The newspaper, the newspaper! It leads to the destruction of the world!"²

While very much in favor of spreading literacy and enlightenment among Russian Muslims, Şakir was personally unsure that the time was ripe for a newspaper.

The second episode occurred several years later in 1885 during a "hunting" expedition for subscribers in the Caucasus. Recalling the experience some time later, Gasprinskii wrote:

Having gone all around the city [Baku] at that time, and having distributed almost *by force* several hundred copies of the newspaper, we were able to find *not one* person who wanted to subscribe to it. The merchants were evidently afraid of us, as were the people, and this seriously hindered our efforts. The clergy shunned us as heretics, and the two or three intellectuals that we met by chance viewed us as madcaps!³

How many subscribers *Perevodchik/Tercüman* had at any given time in its history defies confirmation. For its later years, a figure of ten to fifteen thousand is typically bandied about, with five thousand being sold in Turkey alone, but the validity of these numbers remains suspect. By the end of its first half decade, according to comments Gasprinskii made to Filippov, the newspaper still attracted only three to four hundred.⁴ Puzzling is Seydahmet's claim that figures for 1883, 1884, and 1885 were three hundred and twenty, four hundred and six, and over one thousand respectively.⁵ However accurate these numbers may be, by the early 1890s, the issue of financial survival seems to have receded and then disappeared.

¹Ibid.

²The letter first appeared in the Tatar review *Sura*, No. 6 (1913), but has since been reprinted in M. Gainullin, *Tatarskaia literatura i publiitsistika nachala XX veka* (Kazan, 1966), p. 251.

³Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, "Ot Bakhchisaraya do Tashkenta," *P/T*, No. 31 (September 19, 1893), p. 61.

⁴S. Filippov, *Po Krymu*, p. 74.

⁵K.C. Seydahmet, *Gaspralı İsmail Bey (Dilde, Fikirde, İşte Birlik)* (İstanbul, 1934), p. 62, n. 2.

From its inception until late 1905, *Perevodchik/Tercüman* maintained a technical format of four pages almost equally divided between the Russian and Turkic sections. Gasprinskii seems to have always written his copy in Russian first and then had it translated into Turkic. Abdürreşid Ibrahimov claims that this was Ismail Bey's practice because he was unable to write in the latter language.¹ It may be more a matter of not being "a master of literary style," as Gasprinskii described himself in 1906.² Whether and to what degree he became proficient in his native tongue is unclear, although he notes the continued practice as late as the end of 1905 of having others translate his work into Turkic.³ In any event, by 1905 the Russian section had dwindled to near nothing and the newspaper's name had become *Tercüman-i Ahval-i Zaman* (The Interpreter of Contemporary News).

At first a weekly publication, *Perevodchik/Tercüman* began to appear twice a week in 1904, then three times a week in 1906, and finally as a daily from 1912 until its closure in 1918. The cost of a subscription was originally four rubles a year, reduced to three in 1907, and finally raised to five when it became a daily. From 1890 onward, sketches, illustrations, and photographs were permitted, although Gasprinskii continued to be cautious in their use.⁴ In terms of basic layout, consistency was a hallmark: a lead article or articles by Gasprinskii, Russian domestic news, news from abroad, a *feuilleton* (sometimes literary/didactic, other times straightforwardly informational), official announcements (particularly those affecting Muslims), excerpts from the Russian (and later the Muslim) periodical press, book news, and advertisements.

This bare-bones description of the contents typical of an issue of *Perevodchik/Tercüman* tells one little about the news-paper's monumental significance. To begin with, its very existence was constant testimony to a veritable revolution in communications that, coupled with a rapidly expanding book publishing/trade cycle, changed for increasing numbers of Russian Muslims not only the nature of public discourse but its level and impact as well. In the beginning the newspaper was, quite simply, a novelty, and like novelties it elicited a wide range of responses: from curiosity and applause, to suspicion and condemnation. It served as both a reflection of and a mouthpiece for a way of looking at the world and human activity that was, for most

¹ Abdürresid Ibrahimov, "Bahtiyar Gasprinski," *Emel Mecmuası*, IV, No. 5 (1933), p. 15.

² Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, "Açık Mektub," *Tercüman-i Ahval-i Zaman*, No. 26 (March 15, 1906), p. 1.

³ Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, untitled article, *P/T*, No. 103 (December 9, 1905), p. 203.

⁴ Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, "Ot redaksii," *P/T*, No. 6 (February 18, 1890), p. 12.

Muslims, different and thus unnerving. As a clarion of modernism, it was inherently subversive, which helps to explain Ismail Bey's strategy of incremental assault upon the status quo, whether rooted in Islamic or Russian practice. Thus, on the one hand, he initially limited the newspaper's contents to the most elementary and unadorned information on matters of non-controversial interest to his Muslim readers. As he noted:

Thus it went for three years. In the fourth year I enlarged somewhat the contents of the newspaper and introduced into it critical elements. In order to do this, however, it was first of all necessary to convince my subscribers that they should not confuse my criticism with mockery or scandalous gossip. Convincing people of this takes a long time, and [the task] still continues. Even now [1888] my readers at times assume that I am gossiping, and it takes all my efforts to try to convince them otherwise.¹

On the other, he respected the realities of Russian power and dominion, avoided the censor's club, and kept politics out of his program until circumstances had changed in the empire after 1905. As its novelty wore off, *Perevodchik/Tercüman* gradually acquired a stature that bore symbolic, even metaphorical significance. This occurred partly because it was a survivor, a sturdy plant spawned from a seed tossed upon rich but undeveloped soil. By comparison, most other Muslim fruits of the periodical press appearing during the several decades before 1917 were short-lived and came on the scene much later, largely after 1905. More significant than survivability, however, was the program for shaping a better future that slowly found expression on its pages. By encouraging the reading of books (the right kind, of course) and newspapers, Gasprinskii set the stage for a broader and more tolerant entertainment of ideas: about reforming the traditional educational system, about simplifying the Arabic script and overcoming distinctions among Turkic languages, about the importance of studying foreign languages as passages to other cultures and their achievements, about developing skills (particularly economic ones) and unleashing talents (especially in women), and about restructuring the administration of Muslim religious practices².

¹S. Filippov, *Po Krymu*, p. 75.

²For a full analysis of Gasprinskii's program, see my *Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, Modernism, and the Fate of Islamic Culture in Late Imperial Russia* (forthcoming).

Even more basic was his unwavering insistence that reason and religion were not incompatible; they merely served different human needs¹. Religion, while regulative of human behavior, was not to be the *exclusive* object of experience, from which men must learn. As Gasprinskii succinctly put the matter: "...[I]t is highly important that the *şeriat*, or faith, not diverge from reality, that is, from reason and the dictates of experiences."² By de-centering the Islamic religion, though not disowning it, he sought to create a secular place within the Muslim experience that would permit adoption of the technicalistic achievements of the West³. Those achievements, more and more people came to believe — not without constant prodding from the likes of *Perevodchik/Tercüman* — could not remain the patrimony of Westerners alone. How to share in that patrimony, incorporate it into a commitment to modernist ideology, and thereby reclaim the power, prosperity, and dignity that Muslims believed they once possessed and desired anew, was the challenge and the promise offered by Gasprinskii and his newspaper. With time *Perevodchik/Tercüman* became a metaphor for modernism. As such its name would conjure for Russian Muslims that monumental goal toward which they and so many others have lurched for the last century or so.

E. J. L.

¹Islamic, if not pre-Islamic Turkic, precedents exist to support this central argument in Gasprinskii's ideology. That he was aware of them is illustrated over and again in his references especially to eminent Islamic *ulema* (past and present) who articulate respect for reason's utility. Given Ismail Bey's commitment to the modern discourse, however, the Western *infatuation with Reason*, most especially since the eighteenth century, likely remains a pivotal consideration.

²Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, "Vera i razum." *P/T*, No. 45 (June 10, 1905), p. 88.

³The implications of this, of course, are profound, given the centrality in human affairs that Islam demand for itself. As I have suggested above, Gasprinskii's project possessed a subversive aspect that could hardly avoid weakening Islam's appeal to the imagination in a world which it, like other religions, seemed less and less able to comprehend. The modernism to which he turned demanded more than Gasprinskii was apparently willing to admit; yet his faith in reason allowed him to 'pretend' otherwise, giving him the optimism to believe that shaping the future was indeed possible.

YUSUF AKÇURA'S ÜÇ TARZ-I SİYASET

David S. Thomas

Akçura's Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset (Three Policies) appeared during 1904 in the newspaper Türk (Nos. 24-34) in Cairo, then under British rule. The work was re-printed in 1912 in Istanbul, as a pamphlet. In 1976, "Üç Tarz-i Siyaset" was re-issued once more, with the late E. Z. Karal's introduction, also containing two of the original responses to the work: by Ali Kemal and Ahmet Ferit (Tek).¹ Due to the prevailing censorship in Istanbul, a number of periodicals were being printed in Cairo at the time, opposing the rule of Abdülhamid II.² One such paper of the era was Al-Nahdah,³ published by Ismail Bey Gaspirali⁴ who was related to Akçura by marriage.

The issues discussed in "Three Policies" have occupied the thoughts of a large number of individuals belonging to almost all persuasions, and the administrative strata of the majority of political entities of its time. The perspectives from which Akçura viewed those are also very wide. The concerns Akçura articulated are still valid for most of Central Asia and the

¹Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı siyaset* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976). The dedication page states: "In commemoration of Akçura's 100th birth anniversary, one of the first Presidents of the Türk Tarih Kurumu..." the volume contains a biography of Akçura by Karal, and a bibliography of Akçura's writings.

²To place the events of the era into perspective, see for example, Y. H. Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi* (Ankara, 1940-1967) Three Vols.; A. B. Kuran, *İnkılap Tarihimiz ve Jön Türkler* (Istanbul, 1945); T. Z. Tunaya *Türkiye Siyasi Partiler, 1859-1952* (Istanbul, 1952); Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri, 1895-1908* (Ankara, 1964); A. Bennigsen and Chantal Lemerçier-Quelquejay, *La presse et le mouvement national chez les musulmans de Russie avant 1920* (Paris, 1964); E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks* (Beirut, 1965); Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908-1914* (Oxford, 1969); Şina Akşin, *31 Mart Olayı* (Ankara, 1970); Ş. S. Aydemir, *Makedonya'dan Orta Asya'ya Enver Paşa*, Vol. II. (Istanbul, 1976) 2nd Ed. (Especially pp. 443-494); Stanford J. & E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Vol. II (Cambridge University Press, 1977); M. Şikrî Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Örgüt Olarak 'Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti' ve 'Jön Türklük' (1889-1902)* (Vol I) (Istanbul, 1985); Masami Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era* (Leiden, 1991). Most contain extensive bibliographies.

³Thomas Kuttner, "Russian Jadidism and the Islamic World: Ismail Gasprinskii in Cairo, 1908" *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 16. (1975).

⁴Edward Lazzerini, "Gadidism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: A View Within" *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 16 (1975); idem "From Bakhchisaray to Bukhara in 1893: Ismail Bey Gasprinskii's Journey to Central Asia" *Central Asian Survey* Vol. 3, No. 4 (1984); idem, "Ismail Bey Gasprinskii and Muslim Modernism in Russia, 1878-1914" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1973); Ismail Bey Gasprinskii, *Russkoe musul'manstvo: mysl', zametki i nablyudeniya* (Simferopol, 1881) Society for Central Asian Studies (Oxford, 1985) Reprint No. 6; Cafer Seydahmet, *Gaspirali Ismail Bey* (Istanbul, 1934).

Middle East. Notes in the translated text belong to Akçura. Biography of Akçura preceeding the translation was compiled by Professor Thomas.¹

Akçura was born in 1876 in Simbirsk [Ulyanovsk] on the right bank of the middle Volga. His father died when he was two; five years later he and his mother emigrated to Istanbul where henceforth he was to live. He received his early education in the schools of the Ottoman Empire and in 1895 he entered the War College [*Harbiye Mektebi*] in Istanbul. Upon graduation he was assigned to the General Staff course [*Erkan-i Harbiye*], one of the most prestigious posts for young and ambitious cadets and one of the essential steps up the ladder of the Ottoman military hierarchy. Before he completed his training, however, he was accused of belonging to a secret society opposed to Abdülhamid and was sent into exile at Fezan in the interior of Libya, from where, in 1899, he and Ahmet Ferit [Tek], his close friend since their days together in the War College, escaped and made their way to Paris.

Akçura remained in Paris four years. It was a period which exerted a decisive influence on his thinking and which was to turn him completely away from a military career and reorient him for the remainder of his life toward intellectual and academic pursuits. He was given the opportunity to gain first-hand experience of European, specifically French culture, and to perfect his knowledge of French. At this time he became politically conscious and began to understand the motive forces and power of nationalism.

In 1903 Akçura left Paris and returned to his ancestral home in the Russian domains where he composed what was to become his best known work, *Three Policies*. In this essay which appeared in 1904 in the paper *Türk* published in Cairo, Akçura advanced a number of arguments which, when taken together, were in fact a proposal to the Turks of the Ottoman Empire, urging them to recognize their national aspirations, to forget about being Ottomans and to adopt a policy of Turkish nationalism as the focus of their collective loyalty and identity. For their time these ideas were revolutionary. Among the Ottoman Turks they were either universally ignored or rejected and it was only during the period of the Second Constitutional Monarchy [*İkinci Meşrutiyet*], 1908-1918, that these notions were taken seriously and elaborated by Akçura and others into an ideology of Turkish nationalism.

¹ See also David Thomas "Yusuf Akçura and the Intellectual Origins of *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*", *Journal of Turkish Studies/Türk'lık Bilgisi Araştırmaları* vol 2 (1978); idem, "The Life and Thought of Yusuf Akçura 1876-1935" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, McGill University, 1976).

In pursuit of this, Akçura founded the journal *Türk Yurdu* which, from 1911 to 1917, became the foremost publication in the Turkish cultural world advancing the cause of nationalism "for all the Turks of the world." In it, Akçura elaborated his own comprehensive doctrine of Turkism which was radically different from that advanced by Gökâlp. His ideology of Turkish nationalism was distinguished by its definition of the Turkish nation in terms of ethnicity, its recognition that the Turks must develop a national economy to sustain national consciousness and its insistence on reform of all institutions of Turkish society in accordance with a program of total Westernization.

In the Turkish Republic, Akçura assumed a position of intellectual leadership. He continued to influence the ideological evolution of the new Turkish political entity, the Turkish Republic, through his position as an influential university professor and popular teacher, and through his ideas on the writing of history as well as his historical studies. He died in Istanbul in 1935.

D.S.T.

THREE POLICIES

It seems to me that since the rise of the desire for progress and rehabilitation spread from the West, three principal political doctrines have been conceived and followed in the Ottoman dominions. The first is the one which seeks to create an Ottoman Nation through assimilating and unifying the various nations subject to Ottoman rule. The second seeks to unify politically all Muslims living under the governance of the Ottoman State because of the fact that the prerogative of the Caliphate has been a part of the power of the Ottoman State (this in what the Europeans call Pan-Islamism). The third seeks to organize a policy of Turkish nationalism (*Türk Milliyet-i siyasiyesi*) based on ethnicity.

The first of these principles had an important influence on the general political policy of the Ottoman Empire, whereas the last appeared only recently in the writings of certain authors.

I

The desire to bring into being an Ottoman nation did not aim at a lofty objective nor high hopes. Rather the real purpose was to grant and impose the same rights and political duties on the Muslim and non-Muslim peoples of the Ottoman dominions, and thus to realize perfect equality between them and to grant complete freedom of thought and worship. The aim was thus to create an Ottoman Nation (*Osmanlı Milleti*) a new nationality united in a common country similar to the American nation in the United States of America by blending and assimilating to each other the above mentioned peoples in spite of the religious and ethnic differences [existing] among them. The ultimate result of all these difficult processes was to be the preservation of the "High Ottoman State" in its original external form, that is within her old boundaries. Although the continuance and strengthening of the power of a state whose majority was Muslim and Turkish in its major part was beneficial to all Muslims and Turks, this political principle would not directly serve them. For this reason the Muslims and Turks living outside the Ottoman lands could not be so interested in this policy. The point is that it would only be a local and internal matter.

The policy of creation of an Ottoman nation arose seriously during the reign of Mahmut the Second.¹ It is well known that this ruler said: "I wish to see the religious differences among my subjects only when they enter their mosques, synagogues, and churches...". Around the beginning and the middle of the nineteenth century it was natural that this policy was thought preferable and practicable for the Ottoman dominions. At that time in Europe the idea of nationalism, through the influence of the French Revolution, accepted as the basis of nationality the French model based on the principle of conscience rather than that of descent and ethnicity. Sultan Mahmud and his successors, self-deceived by this principle which they could not thoroughly comprehend, believed in the possibility of blending, and molding the subjects of the state who were of different ethnicities and faiths into a unique nation, by means of freedom, equality, security and fraternity. Some examples which could be observed in the history of the integration of nationalities in Europe also strengthened their conviction. In fact did not the French nationality originate from a compound of German, Celtic, Latin, Greek, and other elements? Were there not many Slavic elements digested in the German nationality? Is not

¹ Although it can be claimed that this policy had been followed in a natural fashion by certain Ottoman rulers up to the time of Selim I, it was not because of imitating Europe. Rather, it originated from the needs of the time and from the fact that Islam was not yet well established. Consequently it is not relevant to our discussion.

Switzerland a nation despite differences of ethnicity and religion? It is not improbable that these Ottoman statesmen, through an inadequate understanding of the nature of the policies pursued by the Germans and the Italians, who were striving for their political unity at that time, presented these movements as evidence to support the correctness of their policy.

The idea of an Ottoman national unity was observed especially during the time of Âli and Fuat Pasha. Napoleon the Third, the apostle of creating nations according to the French principle of the plebiscite, was the most powerful supporter of these Westernized pashas. The French inspired reforms during the time of Sultan Abdülaziz and the lycée at Galatasaray, which this reform symbolized, were all results of the time when this system was fashionable.

But when Napoleon and the French Empire fell in 1870-1871 which symbolized the victory of the German interpretation of nationality, that of assuming ethnicity as the basis of nationality, which, I believe, is closer to reality, the policy of Ottoman unity lost its only powerful supporter.

It is true that Mithat Pasha was to a degree a follower of the two famous ministers mentioned above but his political program, which was more complex in relation to theirs, disappeared very quickly. As for the program of present-day Young Ottomans, who pretend to follow the work of Mithat, is very vague. I believe therefore it would not be a mistake if one assumes that the illusion of organizing an Ottoman nation passed away with the French Empire, and, like it, can never be revived again.

When the policy of creating an Ottoman nation failed, the policy of Islamism appeared.¹

This idea which the Europeans term Pan-Islamism was recently developed out of Young Ottomanism, namely by a group who partially adopted a policy of forming an Ottoman nation. The point to which many Young Ottoman poets and politicians ultimately arrived, having begun first of all with the slogans "Homeland" and "Ottomanism" —that is Ottomanism composed of all the peoples living in the homelands— was "Islamism." The most influential cause of this metamorphosis was their experience of Europe

¹This policy had been followed several centuries before by the Ottomans. Bayazıt the Lightning, Mehmet the Conqueror, and Mehmet Sokollu pursued this idea. The desire to unify the world of Islam is obvious in almost every action of Selim I. These periods, however, do not fall within the scope of this article.

and their closer observation of Western ideas. When they were in the East they stuffed their heads with the ideas of eighteenth century political philosophy—one of them was a translator of Rousseau—but they were unable completely to comprehend the importance of ethnicity and religion and especially they were unable to understand completely that the time had passed for creating a new nationality; that the interests, if not desires, of the various elements under the rule of the Ottoman state were not in accordance with such a unity and blending and hence that the application of the French conception of nationality was impossible in the East. When they were in foreign countries, however, they saw their own country with greater clarity from afar, and they were successful in understanding the gradually increasing political importance of religion and ethnicity for the East. As a result they realized that the desire to create an Ottoman nation was an illusion.

Thereupon they became convinced of the necessity to unify completely all Muslim peoples using all possible means, starting first with those living in the Ottoman dominions and then with those living in the remainder of the world, without regard to differences of ethnicity, but taking advantage of their common faith. In accordance with the rule that "religion and nation are one" which every Muslim learns from his earliest years, they believed that it was possible to put all Muslims in the form of a unified nation in the sense given to a nation in recent times. In one respect this would lead to dissolution and separation among the peoples of the Ottoman dominions. Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects would now be divided. On the other, and, however, this would be the means of uniting all Muslims in an even greater unification and assimilation. This policy, in comparison to the previous policy, was more extensive, or in current terminology, it was world-wide (*mondiale*). This idea which in the beginning was purely theoretical, appearing only in the press, gradually began as well to have practical application. During the last years of Sultan Abdülaziz's reign, the word Pan-Islamism was frequently heard in diplomatic conversations. The establishment of diplomatic relations with certain Muslim rulers of Asia were undertaken. After the fall of Mithat Pasha, that is after the complete renunciation of the idea officially of creating an Ottoman nation, Sultan Abdülhamid the Second strove to follow this policy. This ruler, in spite of the fact that he was the irreconcilable adversary of the Young Ottomans, was, to a degree, their political disciple. The Young Ottomans, once realizing that the non-Muslim subjects did not want to stay within the Ottoman Commonwealth, even if they were granted complete equality in rights and freedom, had begun to express their enmity toward these non-Muslim subjects and towards their Christian protectors. The present-day

policy of the Padişah exhibits a striking resemblance to Young Ottoman ideas after this change in their outlook.¹

The present-day ruler tried to substitute the religious title of Caliph for the terms Sultan and Padişah. In his general policies, religion, i.e. the religion of Islam, held an important place. In the curricula of the secular schools the time allotted to religious instruction was increased; the basis of education was religious. Religiosity and pietism —even if it were external and hypocritical— became the most important means for attracting the protection of the Caliphal favor. The imperial residence of Yıldız was filled with *hojas*, *imams*, *seyyids*, *sheikhs*, and *sherifs*. It became a custom to appoint men with turbans to certain civil posts. Preachers were sent among the people to inspire firmness in religion, strong loyalty to the office of the Caliphate —to the person who occupied that office rather than the office itself— and hatred against the non-Muslim peoples. Everywhere *tekkes*, *zaviyehs*, and *jamis* were built and repaired. *Hajis* won great importance. During the pilgrimage season, pilgrims passing through the city of the Caliphate were honored by the blessing and favor of the Ruler of the Muslims. Their religious allegiance and loyalty of heart to the office of the Caliphate was sought. In recent years envoys have been sent to the countries of Africa and China thickly populated by Muslims. One of the best means of carrying out this policy has been the building of the Hamidiye-Hijaz Railway.

Yet with this political policy the Ottoman Empire resumed the form of a theocratic state that it had tried to abandon in the period of the *Tanzimat*. It now became necessary [for the state] to renounce all freedoms, the freedoms of conscience, thought and political freedom, as well as religious, ethnic, political and cultural equality. Consequently, it was necessary to say farewell to an European-type constitutional government; to accept an increase of the already existing enmities and antipathies arising out of the diversity of ethnicities, religions and social positions, which ultimately led to an increase of revolts and rebellions, as well as to an upsurge in Europe of enmity against the Turk. In fact that is just what occurred.²

¹*It must not be forgotten that this article was written over seven years ago. [Editor's Note to the 1912 re-print].*

²My intention must not be misunderstood. There are several reasons for the hostility which exists among the diverse peoples and the conflicts between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. The cause I have mentioned above forms only one of several varied causes.

The idea to bring about a policy of Turkish nationalism based on ethnicity is very recent. I do not think this idea existed in either the Ottoman Empire up to now nor in other former Turkish states. Although Léon Cahun, the partisan historian of Chinggis and Mongols, has written that this great Turkish [sic] Khan conquered Asia from end-to-end with the ultimate intention to unite all the Turks, I am unable to say anything concerning the historical authenticity of this assertion.

Furthermore, I have not encountered any trace concerning the existence of an idea to unite the Turks during the *Tanzimat* and in the Young Ottoman movements. Probably the late Vefik Pasha, when he showed interest in a pure Turkish language by writing his Dictionary, was fascinated for a while with this utopian idea. It is true, nevertheless, that recently in Istanbul a circle, scientific rather than political, has been founded to pursue the idea of Turkish nationalism. It seems to me that an increase in the relations between the Ottomans and the Germans, and the growing acquaintance among Turkish youth of the German language and especially the historical and philological studies done by the Germans, have been very influential in the formation of this circle. In this new group, rather than the light, frivolous, and political style characterized by the French tradition, there exists a soundly-based science which has been obtained quietly, patiently, and in a detailed fashion. The most prominent members of this group are Şemseddin Sami, Mehmet Emin, Necip Asım, Velet Çelebi, and Hasan Tahsin; while *İkdam*, up to a point, seems to be their organ. The movement is developing rather slowly because the present-day government apparently does not look with favor on this mode of thinking.¹

I do not know whether followers of this idea exist in places other than Istanbul in the Ottoman Empire. Yet Turkism, just like Islamism, is a general policy. It is not limited to the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Consequently it is necessary to look at the other parts of the world inhabited by the Turks.

In Russia, where most of the Turks live, I know of the existence in a very vague form of the idea of the unity of the Turks. The nascent Idil literature is more Turkish than Muslim in character. If external pressure had not existed, the regions of Turkistan, Yayik and Idil, wherein the great majority of the Turks are found, could have provided a more favorable environment than the Ottoman dominions for the flourishing of this idea.

¹If I am not mistaken the Government did not permit publication of the second volume of the *Turkish History* [which this group prepared].

This idea may also exist among the Caucasian Turks. Although the Caucasian Turks have had an intellectual influence on the Azerbaijan Turks, I do not know to what degree the Turks of Northern Iran have embraced the idea of Turkish unity.

In any case the formulation of a policy of nationalism based on ethnicity is still in its infancy and not widespread.

II

Now let us investigate which one of these three policies is useful and practicable.

We said useful, but useful to whom and to what purpose? To this question only our natural instincts, in other words our sentiments which reason is still unable to analyze and justify, can give an answer. "I am an Ottoman, a Muslim, and a Turk. Therefore I wish to serve the interests of the Ottoman state, Islam, and all Turks." But are the interests of these three societies, which are political, religious, and ethnic, common? That is to say does the strengthening of one imply the strengthening of the others?

The interests of the Ottoman state are not contrary to the interests of Muslims and Turks in general, inasmuch as both Muslim and Turkish subjects would become powerful by its gaining power, and at the same time other Muslims and Turks [outside] will also have support.

But the interests of Islam do not completely coincide with Ottoman and Turkish interests, because the strengthening of Islam would lead in the end to the separation of some non-Muslim peoples from the state. The rise of the conflicts between the Muslims and the non-Muslims would lead to a partition of the present-day Ottoman commonwealth and its weakening.¹

As for the interests of the Turks, they also do not completely coincide with the interests of the Ottoman state or with Islam, since the division of Islamic society into Turkish and non-Turkish parts will weaken it, with the result that this would release discord among the Ottoman Muslim subjects and *lead to a weakening of the Ottoman Empire.*

¹Because the non-Muslim Turks are very few [in number], this last danger is not important.

Therefore a person belonging to each of the three societies must work for the interests of the Ottoman state. Yet in which one of these three *policies*, which we are discussing, lies the interest of the Ottoman state itself? And which one of these is practicable in the Ottoman Commonwealth?

III

The creation of an *Ottoman Nation* is the sole means for preserving the Ottoman Empire within its present-day borders. Yet, does the real strength of the Ottoman state lie in its preservation within its present-day geographical form?

In the case of an Ottoman nation, it is believed that a composite nation will come into existence from among the various religions and ethnic groups based upon liberty and legal equality. They [the people] will be united only by the ideas of homeland [*The Ottoman Dominions*] and nation [*The Ottoman Nation*]. The conflicts and animosities arising from religious and ethnic differences will cease, and in this fashion the Greeks and Armenians, like the Arabs, will be fused into a unity. The Ottoman Turks who are the basic foundation of the Ottoman state will be content with the spiritual benefits of attributing the name of Osman Bey, their first leader, to their homeland and nation and especially by seeing the empire which came into existence through the efforts of their ancestors not partitioned any further. Perhaps they may even be forced to drop this name altogether because in this free state, in which the former conquered peoples constitute a majority, the name "Ottoman," which to them is a symbol of their former subjugation, may be abolished by their will!

The Ottoman Turks may continue their actual predominance for a limited duration of time thanks to their sovereignty exercised through past centuries, yet it must be remembered that the duration of the force of inertia in the social realm is no more than the one observed in the realm of nature.

As for the generality of Muslims who live in the Ottoman nation, since they will constitute the majority, the complete power of rulership in the administration of the state will pass into their hands. Consequently, if it is recognized that spiritually and materially the Islamic element will derive the greatest benefit from this composite society, then we also must admit that in this Ottoman nation religious conflicts remain, a real equality does not exist and the various elements have not truly been merged into one.

To say that in the creation of the Ottoman Nation the Turkish and Muslim population and their power will not be increased is not to say that the power of the Ottoman state will be decreased. Nevertheless our basic question is the power of the state. Power will certainly be increased. The people of a state organized in a rational, closely-knit fashion, in short, as a block, rather than being in the state of continuous disputes and conflict, [anarchy] will certainly be more powerful.

But the basic problem is whether or not the elements belonging to different ethnicities and religions which up to now have never ceased being in conflict and contention with one another can now be united and assimilated?

We have seen above that experiments of this nature in the past have ended in failures: in order to understand henceforth whether or not success is possible, let us survey the causes of this failure.

1. Muslims, and especially Ottoman Turks, did not themselves wish this combination and assimilation. Such a policy would have put an end legally to their six hundred year-old sovereignty, and they would descend to the level of equality with *reayas* whom they had become accustomed over many years to regard as subjugated peoples. As the most immediate and material result of it they would be forced to let the *reayas* enter the government and army positions that they had customarily monopolized up to that time. In other words, by leaving an occupation looked on as honorable by the aristocratic peoples, they themselves would be forced to enter into trade and industry which they looked down upon and with which they were little acquainted.

2. Likewise, the Muslims did not wish this inasmuch. As this powerful religion which looked after the real interests of its followers from a very material and human point of view, did not accept complete legal equality of Muslim and non-Muslim: the *Zimmis* were to remain always on a secondary level. As for liberty, although it is true from every aspect that Islam, among all the religions, has been the most liberal, nevertheless as a religion, having its origin in the supernatural, it regards every custom not entirely of its own principles and customs, derived [as they are] from absolute truths, as contrary to the true path. It would not accept, therefore, merely for *the goal of human happiness*, complete freedom of thought and conscience.

3. The non-Muslims, too, did not want it, because all of them had their own past, their own independence and their own governments in that past which was now being glorified because of the revival of national consciousness. Muslims and especially the Turks had ended their independence and had destroyed their governments. And, under the Ottoman rule, they believed, they had experienced injustice and not justice, contempt and not equality, misery and not happiness. The Nineteenth century had taught them their past, their rights and their nationality on the one hand, and had weakened the Ottomans, their masters on the other. And some of the fellow subjugated peoples had already won their independence. Now their weakened masters are extending their hand of brotherhood unwillingly and hesitantly. They wanted them to share sovereignty: they wanted to equalize the privileges. These invigorated subjects, whose wisdom was now brighter than their masters' and who understood that some of the hands extending towards them were really sincere, did not fail to recognize the role played on the formation of this new policy by the pressure of Western powers, who, for their own interests, sought the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The interests of some of them were probably with the idea of the Ottoman nation, yet they were also prone to exalted emotions rather than cool calculations. Thus, literally none of them wanted to form a new national unity by letting themselves merge with those whom they looked upon as their enemies.

4. The greatest enemy of the Ottomans, Russia, as well as its satellites, the Balkan states, also did not want it. Russia wanted to get possession of the Straits [Bosphorus and Dardanelles], Anatolia, and Iraq, Istanbul and the whole of Balkans, the Holy Lands, and thus realize its political, economic, national and religious aims. By occupying the Straits, Russia would obtain a large and protected port for its naval fleet, freely roam the important trade routes of the Mediterranean. From that position, Russia could, at any time, ambush the British Naval and commercial fleets, the caravans of our time, thereby at will could sever the British lines of communication with her wealthiest colony. In short, Russia could flank India, which it has coveted for a long time, again, this time from the West. By occupying Anatolia, Russia would be in a position to totally control the most fertile and productive continent on earth. By expanding into Iraq, Russia would complete its conquest of Asia, thus tilting the age-old competition with Britain for the control of the Islamic holy-lands and populations in its own favor. As a result, by gaining the Straits and a substantial portion of Ottoman Asia, Russia would reap important political and economic benefits.

By annexing the Balkans to its already wide lands, [Russians would] unify the South Slavs, and by planting the Cross on St. Sophia, gain control of the lands from which the Russian Orthodox religion originated. This would allow the extremely devout Russians to claim all their highest religious and emotional objectives.

The realization of these aims depended upon a weak, troubled and divided Ottoman state. Therefore, Russia could never tolerate the rise of an Ottoman nationality.

Then, those Serbian and Greek states, which had recently gained political life, would want to increase [sic] their populations "that have been left under the yoke of the Turks." This could only be attained by segregating the Ottoman communities. They would have strived towards that [objective].

5. The idea was not well received in some sections of European public opinion. Some of those who manipulated European public opinion were still under the influence of the age-old religious quarrel between Christianity and Islam. They are still following the tradition of the Crusades. They wanted to rescue the Christians from the Muslim yoke, to clear the infidels out of Europe and the lands of the Christians. Some of them, giving a more humane and scientific color to their claims, wanted not only to rescue the "European nations capable of progress" from the yoke of the half-barbarian Turanians who knew nothing but waging warfare, but also to push these Asiatics back to the deserts of the continent from which they originated. Frequently these two theses became mixed and confused with each other so that it was not clear which one was derived from the other.

We see, therefore, that in spite of the desires of all peoples living in the Ottoman lands and in spite of all external obstacles, only a few persons who were at the top of the Ottoman government wanted to create an Ottoman nationality simply by relying upon the support of certain European governments (especially of the France of Napoleon III) ! It was an impossible task. Even if these men at the top were great geniuses, it would not in the least have been possible to overcome so many obstacles. In fact, their efforts ended in failure.

Those obstacle have not decreased since then. On the contrary they have become more numerous. Abdülhamid's policy increased the enmity and the gulf between the Muslims and the non-Muslims. Additional numbers of non-

Muslim peoples were getting their independence and this doubled the enthusiasm of the others. Russia increased its power and became more aggressive. European public opinion turned more bitterly against the Turks. France, the most powerful supporter of the idea of Ottoman nationality, lost its greatness and became a follower of Russia. In short, both inside and outside, the conditions became more and more unfavorable to the scheme. It seems, therefore, that from now on to follow the policy of Ottomanism is nothing more than a waste of time.

Now let us see if the policy of Pan-Islam is beneficial and practicable for the Ottoman state.

As has been alluded above, the application of this policy would increase the already existing rivalries and animosities among the peoples of the Empire and thus would mean the weakening of the state. Moreover, the Turks would find themselves separated into Muslims and non-Muslims and thus the common affinity based on ethnicity would be destroyed by religious conflicts.

Against such disadvantages, however, this policy had the advantage of unifying all Muslims, and consequently the Turks, creating an Islamic Commonwealth more solid and compact than the unity of the Ottoman nation. More important than this, it would prepare the ground for the rise of a larger unity, based on religion, which would be able to survive alongside the great powers arising out of Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Slavic, Latin and perhaps Chinese blocs.

The realization of this ultimate aim would undoubtedly take a long time. In the beginning it would suffice to strengthen the already existing spiritual relations and to set down the outlines of future organization. But gradually the outlines will begin to take a more clear and definite form, and then it would be possible to create a stable spiritual unity extending over the greater part of Asia and half of Africa which would serve to challenge the above mentioned great and formidable blocks.

But is it possible to pursue this policy in the Ottoman lands successfully?

Islam is one of the religions which places much importance on political and social affairs. One of its tenets may be formulated by the saying that "religion and nation are the same." Islam abolishes ethnic and national loyalties of those who embrace it. It also tends to do away with their language, their past and their traditions. Islam is a powerful melting pot in which people of various ethnicities and beliefs, blend, and produces Muslims who believe they are a body with the same equal rights. At the rise of Islam there was within it a strong orderly political organization. Its constitution was the *Koran*. Its official language was Arabic. It had an elected head and a holy seat.

However, the changes observable in other religions can be seen in Islam, too. As the result of the influence of ethnicity and various events, the political unity achieved by religion became partly disrupted. A century had not even passed since the *hijra* before the national conflicts between the Arabs and the Persians (taking the form of the struggles between the Umayyads and Hashemites dynasties) had opened an unbridgeable rift in the unity of Islam. It created the great schism between the Sunni and Shii Muslims. Later on various other elements like the Turks and Berbers appeared in addition to the Arabs and the Persians. In spite of the great levelling, assimilating and unifying power of Islam, the unity of the official and religious language, too, disappeared. Persians claimed equality with Arabic. A time came when the power of Islam began to sink to its lowest ebb. Part of the Muslim lands and then gradually a great part of them (more than three fourths) passed under the domination of the Christian states. The unity of Islam became more disrupted. And, in recent times, under the impact of Western ideas ethnic and national feelings which previously had been subsumed by Islam began to show their force.

In spite of all these forces which have weakened the power of Islam, religious beliefs are still very influential. We can safely say that among the Muslims skepticism toward their faith and the doctrine of atheism are not yet wide spread. All followers of Islam still seem to be faithful, enthusiastic, obedient believers, who can face every sacrifice for the sake of their religion.

Although the new legislations of some Muslim states have diverged from the *sheria* of Islam, these states still pretend to maintain the Islamic law as the basis of legislation. Arabic is still the only religious language of science and literature among the Muslims of certain lands. Many Muslim *madrasa*, with a few exceptions, still teach in Arabic and follow the same

scholastic programs. Still many Muslims are saying "Thank God, I am a Muslim," before saying "I am a Turk or an Iranian." Still the majority of the Muslims of the world recognize the Emperor of the Ottoman Turks as their Caliph. Still all Muslims turn their faces to Mecca five times a day and rush from all corners of the world, enthusiastically facing all kinds of difficulties, to the *kabah* of *Allah* to kiss the Black Stone. Without hesitating, we can repeat, therefore, that Islam still is very powerful. Thus, it seems that the internal obstacles against the policy of Pan-Islam may more or less easily be overcome.

The external obstacles on the other hand, are very powerful. On the one hand, all of the Islamic states, with one or two exceptions, are under the influence of the Christian states. On the other hand, all of the Christian states, with one or two exceptions, have among their subjects, Muslims.

These states believe that the allegiance of their Muslim subjects, even if this allegiance is only in a spiritual sense, to a foreign political power is contrary to their interests and is something which might prove dangerous in the future. Therefore, these states would naturally use every means within their power to prevent the realization of a Pan-Islamic unity. And, through their influence and might over the Muslim states, they are in a position to prevent it. Therefore, they can follow and eventually succeed in the materialization of a policy contrary to the Pan-Islamic program of the Ottoman government which is the strongest Islamic power today.

Now, let us survey the benefits of the policy of Pan-Turkism (*tevhid-i Etrak*). By such a policy all Turks living in the Ottoman Empire would be perfectly united by both ethnic and religious bonds and the other non-Turkish Muslim groups who have been already Turkified to a certain extent would be further assimilated. Those who have never been assimilated but at the same time have no national feelings would be entirely assimilated under such a program.

But the main service of such a policy would be to unify all the Turks who, being spread over a great portion of Asia and over the eastern parts of Europe, belong to the same language groups, the same ethnicity and mostly the same religion. Thus there would be created a greater national political unity among the other great nations. In this greater national unity the Ottoman state as the most powerful, the most progressive and civilized of all Turkish societies, would naturally play an important role. There would be a

Turkish world in between the world of the Caucasian and the East Asian ethnicities. Recent events suggest that such a division of the world into two great blocs is imminent. In between these two blocks the Ottoman state could play a role similar to that which is played by Japan among the East Asian ethnicities.

But, over these advantages, there are certain disadvantages which may lead to the partition of the non-Turkish Muslims from the Ottoman Empire. These peoples cannot be assimilated with the Turks and therefore this policy would lead to the division of the Muslims into Turks and non-Turks and thereby to the relinquishment of any serious relations between the Ottoman state and the non-Turkish Muslims.

Moreover, the internal obstacles against this policy are greater in number than those which were unfavorable to the policy of Pan-Islam. For one thing, the Turkish nationalistic ideas which appeared under the influence of Western ideas is still very recent. Turkish nationalism —the idea of the unification of the Turks— is still a new born child. That strong organization, that living and zealous feeling, in short, those primary elements which create a solid unity among Muslims do not exist in Turkishness (*Türklük*). The majority of the Turks today have forgotten their past!

We must remember, however, that a great majority of the present-day Turks who seem to be amenable to unification, are of Muslim religion. For that reason, Islam may be an important factor in the realization of a Turkish unity. Religion is admitted as an important element in various definitions of nationality. Islam, however, to play such a role in the realization of the Turkish nationality has to face a change so that it can admit the existence of the nationalities within itself —a recognition achieved recently in Christianity. And such a transformation is almost inevitable. The dominant current in our contemporary history is that of the nations. Religions as such are increasingly losing their political importance and force. Religion is increasingly becoming less and less social and more and more personal. Freedom of conscience is replacing unity of faith. Religions are renouncing their claims to being the sole director of the affairs of the communities and they are becoming spiritual forces leading hearts towards salvation. Religion is nothing more than a moral bond between the Creator and the created. *Religions, therefore, if they are to maintain any of their social and political*

importance, can do so by becoming a helper and even a hand-maiden to the national unities.¹

External obstacles against the realization of the Turkish unification, on the other hand, are less strong in comparison with those working against Pan-Islamism. Among the Christian states the only power to work against this policy will be Russia. As to the other Christian governments, they may even encourage this policy because they will find it against the interests of Russia.

The following conclusions seem to emerge from our discussion. The policy of Ottoman nationality, though implying many advantages for the Ottoman state, seems to be impracticable. Other policies aiming at the unification of the Muslims or of the Turks, on the other hand, seem to imply advantages and disadvantages of almost equal weight. As to the practicability of these two policies, we see likewise that the favorable and the unfavorable conditions are equal.

Which one, then, should be followed? When I saw the name of your paper *Türk*, an uncommon name to be used [by the Ottomans], I hoped to find in your columns an answer to this question which used to occupy me continuously and I hoped that this answer would be in favor of the policy of Turkism. But, I see that the "Turk" whose rights you are defending, the "Turk" whom you are trying to enlighten and move is not anyone of that great ethnicity who live in the lands of Asia, Africa, and Europe, extending from Central Asia to Montenegro, from Timor Peninsula to the Karalar Ili [?], but he is just one of the Western Turks who is a subject of the Ottoman state. Your paper *Türk* knows and sees this "Turk" only as a Turk living from the Fourteenth century and whose history is known only through the eyes of the French historians. You are trying to defend the rights of only the "Turk" against the pressures of the foreign nations and the non-Muslim and Muslim peoples who are subjects of the same [Ottoman] state but who belong to a different [non-Turkish] ethnicity. For your paper *Türk*, the military, political and civil history of the Turks is nothing but the history of Murat the First, Mehmet the Conqueror, Selim the First, Ibn Kemal, Nef'i, Baki, Evliya Çelebi and Namik Kemal. It does not and cannot be extended to the names of Oghuz, Chinggis[sic], Timur, Ulugh Bey, Farabi, Ibn Sina, Taftazani and Navai. Sometimes your opinions seems somewhat close to the policy of Pan-Islam and the Caliphate, leaving the impression that you are supporting the

¹Examples are: the Orthodox church in Russia, Protestantism in Germany, Anglicanism in England and Catholicism in various countries.

policies of Pan-Islamism and Turkism at the same time. You implicitly seem to believe that both groups being Muslims have common interests on vital questions. But you do not even insist upon this view.¹

In short, the question which is in my thoughts and inviting an answer is still unanswered. The question is: of the three policies of Islamism and Turkism (*Türklük*) which one is the more beneficial and practicable for the Ottoman state?*

Yusuf Akçura

Village of Zoya, Russia 15/28 March 1904

¹"Makam-i Celil-i Hilafet" *Türk*, 18 Kanunevvel 1319 (1903).

*Editor's note: The 1976 edition of *Üç Tarz-i Siyaset* referenced in Footnote 1 of the introduction above does not cite Ottomanism in this sentence.

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